

Interlinear Translation.

Agricola and Germania

OF

Tacitus.

UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA

THE LATIN TEXT RE-ARRANGED TO THE NATURAL ENGLISH ORDER

WITH A CAREFUL AND EXACT

Interlinear Translation.

**PHILADELPHIA
DAVID McKAY COMPANY
WASHINGTON SQUARE**

PA
6706
A3
1908
278539

Copyrighted, 1908, by Jeffries Andrews

FOREWORD

The compilation of any book must necessarily carry with it some underlying purpose. This is peculiarly true in the construction of this work. The author has labored to overcome the common fault of the ordinary translator of turning into English a given sentence without any regard for the actual meaning of a word or words included in that sentence. This one fault alone serves but one end—it renders valueless the translation as an aid or help to one weak on constructions, idioms and vocabulary.

Wherever there was any chance for one to fail to see a construction, get an idiom or lose sight of a meaning, the "polished" translation has been swept aside, and what you may please to call a "slick" English translation is not found. I deemed it of far greater importance to render aid in such cases by sacrificing any personal idea of what it ought to be, for just what the Latin author really says.

In any case, it is easy to give in substance what is meant by a phrase, but difficult or well-nigh impossible to translate word for word. The Latin method of expression is peculiarly its own, often embracing within a single word what the English is forced to employ several words to express.

The following work is designed solely to serve as (1) a translation pure and simple, (2) a grammatical aid, (3) a vocabulary creator. I believe the student will find it in a class by itself, from the above standpoint, as no translation has ever come under my eye that was suited for anything other than to weaken, not strengthen, one's knowledge of Latin.

This scheme of compilation naturally entailed more work, but I feel that it will meet with approval and appreciation by the short-of-time "recitation-preparer."

The value of the "Agricola and Germania" is considerable. There is much to be gained from its bits of philosophy of life and man's ancient customs. At least that is true in my case.

J. A.

Knoxville, Tenn., 1908.

AGRICOLA

1. Tradere posteris facta moresque clar-
 To hand down to posterity the deeds and customs of fa-
 orum virorum antiquitus usitatum ne quidem
 mous men (is an) ancient practice (which) not even
 aetas nostris temporibus, incuriosa quamquam suorum,
 the age during our time, careless as it is of its own sons,
 omisit, quotiens aliqua magna ac no-
 has abandoned, as often as (whenever) some great and no-
 bilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium
 ble excellence has conquered and risen superior to the fault
 commune parvis que magnis civitatibus,—ignorantiam et
 common to small and to great states,—ignorance and
 invidiam recti. Sed apud priores ut erat pronum
 envy of goodness. But in days gone by as there was a tendency
 agere digna memoratu que magis in aperto
 to do things worthy of memory and (one) had free play (to do so)
 ita quisque celeberrimus ingenio ducebatur tantum
 so everyone most famous in genius was led only
 pretio bonae conscientiae ad prodendam memoriam
 by the reward of a good conscience to hand down the memory
 virtutis sine gratia aut ambitione. Ac plerique ar-
 of greatness without partiality or self-seeking. And not a few
 bitrati sunt narrare ipsi vitam fiduciam
 thought (that) to write their own life (showed) confidence (in their
 morum potius quam adrogantiam, nec fuit id citra
 own) characters rather than presumption, nor was this without
 fidem aut obtrectationi Rutilio et Scauro; adeo
 good faith or disparagement to Rutilius and Scaurus; so far (are)
 virtutes optime aestimantur isdem temporibus quibus
 excellences best considered by the same times (age) in which
 facillime gignuntur. At nunc fuit opus mihi
 (they are) most easily produced. But now there is need to me
 venia narraturo vitam defuncti hominis; quam
 of indulgence (me) about to narrate the life of a dead man; which

non petissem incusaturus tempora jam
 I would not have asked if about to make an attack on an age so

saeva et infesta virtutibus. 2. Legimus, cum Paetus
 cruel and hostile to (all) virtues. We have read, when Paetus

Trasea laudati essent Aruleno Rustico Priscus Helvidius
 Trasea was praised by Arulenus Rusticus (and) Priscus Helvidius

Herennio Senecioni, fuisse capitale,
 by Herennius Senecio, that these praises were capital crimes,

que ne modo saevitum in auctores ipsos sed
 and that not only "was it raged" against the authors themselves but

quoque in eorum libros, ministerio delegato tri-
 even against their books, (that) the office (was) delegated to the

umviris ut urerentur in comitio ac foro monumenta
 triumvirs to burn in the comitium (these) records

clarissimorum ingeniorum. Scilicet arbitrabantur illo
 of illustrious genius. Forsooth they fancied (that) in that

igne vocem Romani populi et libertatem senatus et
 fire the voice of the Roman people and the freedom of the senatus and

conscientiam humani generis aboleri, insuper pro-
 knowledge of the human race were perishing, moreover

fessoribus sapientiae expulsis atque omni bona arte
 the teachers of philosophy were banished and every good pursuit

acta in exilium ne quid honestum occurreret us-
 driven into exile that nothing good might meet (them) any-

quam. Profecto dedimus grande documentum pa-
 where. Certainly we showed a magnificent example of en-

tientiae; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid esset ulti-
 durance, just as a former age saw what was the ex-

mum in libertate, ita nos quid in servi-
 treme in liberty, so we (saw) what (was the extreme) in servi-

tute, commercio loquendi que audiendi adempto
 tude, (when) the right of speech and hearing was taken away

per inquisitiones. Perdissentque quoque memoriam
 by means of espionage. We would have lost indeed memory

ipsam cum voce si esset tam in nostra potestate
 itself with the voice if it were so easy—in our power

oblivisci quam tacere. 3. Nunc demum animus
 —to forget as to keep silent. Now at last (our) spirit is

redit; et quamquam primo ortu statim beatissimi sae-
 returning; and although at the dawn of a most happy age

cull Nerva Caesar miscuerit res olim dissociabiles—prin-
 Nerva Caesar blended things once irreconcilable — sov-

cipatum ac libertatem—que cottidie Nerva Traianus
 ereignty and freedom—and (although) daily Nerva Trajan

augeat felicitatem temporum, publica Se-
ta increasing the prosperity of the times, (although) the public se-
curitas adsumpserit nec modo spem ac votum sed
curity has taken to itself not only (our) hope and well-wishes but

fiduciam ac robur voti ipsius, tamen natura
the well-grounded hope of well-wishes themselves, yet by the nature

humanae infirmitatis, remedia sunt tardiora quam mala;
of human frailty, remedies are slower (to work) than evils;

et ut nostra corpora augescunt lente, cito extingui-
and as our bodies grow slowly, (are) quickly de-
untur, sic oppresseris ingenia que studia facilius quam
stroyed, so you would crush genius and pursuits more easily than

revocaveris; Quippe etiam dulcedo inertiae subit
you would revive (them); For even the charm of indolence steals over

et primo desidia invisā, postremo amatur. Quid?
us and at first the idleness hated, finally is loved. What

si per quindecim annos grande spatium mortalis aevi,
if during (those) fifteen years, a large portion of human life,

multi intercidunt fortuitis casibus, quisque promptis-
many were killed by ordinary casualties, every(one) ables-

simus saevitia principis, sumus pauci aevi
(man) (was killed) through the rage of the emperor, we few sur-

perstitis, ut dixerim ita, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri.
vive, if I may say so, not only others but even ourselves

tot annis exemptis e media vita,
so many years being taken from the midst of life, (years)

quibus venimus iuvenes ad senectutem per silentium,
in which we came as youths to old age through dumb silence,

senes prope ad terminos ipsos exactae aetatis.
(and) as old men almost to the end itself of exact lifetime,

Tamen non pigebit composuisse, vel incon-
Yet it shall not grieve (me) because I have written, though in un-

dita ac rudi voce, memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
formed and unskilful language, the story of former servitude, and

testimonium praesentium bonorum. Interim hic liber.
a testimony of present happiness. Meanwhile this book

destinatus honori mei soceri Agricolae, erit aut
destined as an honor for my father-in-law Agricola, will be either

laudatus professione pietatis aut excusatus. 4. Gnaeus
praised as an expression of devotion or excused. Cnaeus

Iulius Agricola, ortus vetere et illustri colonia Fo-
Julius Agricola, born in the old and famous colony of

rolulensium, habuit utrumque avum Cae-
Forum Iulii, had either grandfather (who was an) Im-

sarum procuratorum, quae nobilitas est equestris.
 perial procurator, which celebrity is (of) knightly (rank)

Pater Iulius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, notus studio
 His father Julius Graecinus, of senatorian order, known thru his study
eloquentiae quæ sapientiae, meritis **et** **ipsius**
 of eloquence and philosophy, drew upon himself by these very
virtutibus iram Gaii Caesaris; namque iussus accusare
 virtues the ire of Caius Caesar; for being ordered to accuse

M. Silanus, et quia abnuerat, interfectus est.
 Marcus Silanus, and because he refused, was put to death. His

Mater Julia Procilla, raræ castitatis. **Educatus** in huius
 mother was Julia Procilla, of rare virtue Brought up under her
sinu indulgentiaeque, transegit **pueritiam** quæ adulescen-
 loving protection, he passed (his) boyhood and youth

tiam per omnem cultum honestarum artium. **Quod** statim
 in every cultivation of worthy learning. The fact that

habuit, parvulus, **Massiliam**,—locum mixtum ac
 he had, when a child, Massilia,—a place blended and

bene compositum Graeca comitate et provinciali
 happily united with Greek gentleness and provincial

parsimonia, — **sedem** ac **magistram** studiorum arcebat
 as the seat and guide of his studies kept

eum ab **inlecebris** peccantium, **praeter** **ipsius**
 him from the enticements of the profligate over and above his

bonam quæ **integram** naturam. **Memoria** teneo se
 good and unsullied character. I remember that he

ipsum solitum narrare in prima iuventa.
 himself used to tell how in his early youth he would have

hausisse acrius studium philosophiae ultra quam
 imbibed a keener zeal for philosophy beyond what

concessum Romano ac senatori, ni prudentia
 was concede'd to a Roman and a senator, had not the sagacity

matris coercuisset incensum ac flagrantem animum.
 of (his) mother restrained his ardent and excited spirit

Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium adpetebat pulchri-
 Forsooth (his) lofty and aspiring genius sought the

tudinem ac speciem magnæ quæ excelsæ gloriæ
 beauty and splendor of a great and glorious glory more

vehementius quam caute. **Mox** ratio et aetas miti-
 vehemently than cautiously. Soon reason and age meli-

gavit retinuitque, quod est difficillimum.
 lowed (his spirit) and he retained, what is most difficult, wise

modum ex sapientia. 5. **Adprobatum**
 moderation, from his learning. He learned to the satisfaction

Suetonio Paulino—diligenti ac moderato duci,
 of Suetonius Paulinus, a painstaking and judicious leader, (who)

aestimaret electus quem contubernio,—prima
 to size him up chose him as a tent companion,—the first

rudimenta castrorum in Britannia. Nec Agricola
 principles of military service, in Britain Nor did Agricola
 licenter neque segnier rettulit titulum tribunatus et
 boldly or lazily make use of (his) title of tribune and
 inascitiam ad voluptates et commeatus,
 inexperience (to procure) pleasures and furloughs, according to the
 more iuvenum vertunt militiam lasciviam;
 custom of young men (who) convert military life into wantonness;
 sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui,
 but he learned (his) province, became known to (his) army,
 discere a peritis, sequi optimos, adpetere
 learned from the skillful, followed the best (men), sought
 nihil in lationem, recusare nihil ob formidinem,
 nothing for vain-glory, avoided nothing on account of fear
 simulatque agere et anxius et intentus. Non
 and at the same time did (things) both carefully and spiritedly. Nev-
 alias sane fuit Britannia exercitatio magisque
 er indeed was Britain more stirred up or in a more
 ambiguo. Veterani trucidati, coloniae incensae, ex-
 critical (shape). Veterans had been slain, colonies burned,
 exercitus intercepti; tum certavere de salute, mox
 armies cut off; then the struggle was for safety, soon
 de victoria. Etsi cuncta quae agebantur con-
 for victory. Though all these things were carried on by the
 siliis ductuque alterius, ac summa rerum
 plans and leadership of another, though the chief conduct of affairs
 et gloria recuperatae provinciae cessit in ducem,
 and glory of the regained province fell to the leader,
 yet artem et usum et stimulos addidere
 yet skill and experience and ambition were added to the
 iuveni que cupido militaris gloriae intravit
 young (officer) and the desire of military glory entered
 animum, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra inter-
 his mind, unwelcome in times (age) in which a sinister con-
 pretatio erga eminentes, nec minus periculum ex-
 struction (was held) towards eminence, no less a danger to
 magna fama quam mala. ¶ Digressus hinc in
 great fame than an evil (one). ¶ Having gone hence to
 urbem ad capessendos magistratus, iunxit sibi
 Rome for entering upon the career of office, he married,
 Domitiam Decidianam, ortam splendidis natalibus; idque
 Domitia (Decidiana, born of illustrious family; and this
 matrimonium fuit decus ac robur nitenti ad
 marriage was an honor and support (to him) striving for
 maiora. Vixeruntque mira concordia per mu-
 greater (things). And they lived in wonderful harmony by mu-
 tuam caritatem et anteponendo in vicem se.
 tual affection and by preference of each other to self
 Nisi quod tanto maior laus in bona uxore, quanto
 save only the greater the praise for a good wife, so much,

plus est culpae in mala. Sors quaesturae dedit
 more is the censure for a bad (one). The lot of quaestor gave
 Asiam provinciam, Salvium Titianum pro consule,
 (him) Asia as a province, Salvius Titianus for (his) proconsul,
 neutro quorum corruptus est, quamquam provincia
 by neither of which was he corrupted, although the province (was)
 et dives et parata peccantibus, pro consule, pro-
 both rich and ready for wrong-doing, while the proconsul, in-
 nus in omnem aviditatem, quantalibet facilitate
 clined to every form of greed, with as much ease as you please
 redempturus esset mutuum dissimulationem mali.
 would have bought a mutual concealment of evil. (His fam-
 Auctus est ibi filia simul in subsidium
 ily) he was increased there by a daughter, at the same time for a support
 et solacium; nam amisit brevi ante filium
 and a comfort; for he had lost a short time before a son
 sublatum. Mox transiit (annum) inter quaesturam
 lifted up (by him). Anon he spent (the year) between his quaestorship
 ac tribunatum plebis atque etiam annum ipsum tribun-
 and tribunate and even the year itself of the trib-
 atus quiete et otio, gnarus temporum sub Ne-
 ate in quiet and ease, knowing the times under Nero
 rone, quibus inertia fuit pro sapientia. Idem
 in which idleness stood for wisdom. (There was) the same
 tenor et silentium praeturae; enim iurisdic-
 tenor and silence of (his) praetorship; for judicial function
 tio nec obvenerat. Duxit ludos et inaniam
 did not fall to his lot. He conducted games and the pagean-
 honoris medio rationis atque abundan-
 try of office according to the mean between reason and profusion,
 tia, uti longe a luxuria ita pro-
 so that as far as he was from extravagance so (much) the
 prior famae. Tum electus a Galba ad recognos-
 nearer (was) he to fame. Then chosen by Galba to investigate
 cenda dona templorum, diligentissima conquisitione
 the gifts of the temples, by a most diligent search
 fecit ne res publica sacrilegium
 he brought it about that the state (felt) a sacrilege
 alterius cuius quam sensisset Neronis. 7.
 of (no) other one than (those) it had experienced of Nero. The fol-
 Sequens annus adflixit eius animum domumque gravi
 lowing year afflicted his mind and home with a heavy
 vulnere. Nam Othoniana classis dum vaga li-
 wound. For Otho's fleet while wandering about
 center hostiliter populatur Intimilium. est pars Li-
 idly, cruelly devastates Intimilium, (which) is part of
 guriae; interfecit matrem Agricolae in suis prae-
 Liguria killed the mother of Agricola on her own es-
 tate, que diripuit praedia ipsa et magnam partem
 late, and plundered the estate itself and a great part of

patrimonii, quae fuerat causa caedis. Igitur
 (her) patrimony, which was the cause of the murder Therefore
 Agricola, profectus ad sollemnia pietatis,
 Agricola setting out to (perform) the customary duties of filial affection
 deprehensus nuntio imperii affectati a Ves-
 being overtaken by tidings of the imperial power being aspired to by
 pasiano, ac statim transgressus est in partes. Mucianus
 Vespasian, at once joined his party. Mucianus
 regebat initia principatus ac statum urbis, Domitiano
 ruled the early empire and order of the city, Domitian
 admodum iuvene et usurpante tantum licentiam ex
 being a mere youth and adopting only wantonness from
 paternam fortunam. Is praeposuit vicesimae legioni,—
 (his) paternal fortune. He placed over the 20th legion,—
 tarde transgressae ad sacramentum,— ubi
 slow to take the oath of allegiance,—(and) of which (where)
 decessor narrabatur agere seditiose,—Agricolam,
 (his) predecessor was said to be acting seditiously,—Agricola
 missum ad agendos dilectus, que versatum integre ac
 sent to make a levy (of troops), and (which) (he) managed honestly
 strenue. Quippe erat nimia ac formidolosa quoque
 and quickly. For it was too powerful and formidable even
 legatis consularibus, nec legatus praetorius potens
 for legates of consular rank, nor (was) a legate of praetorian rank able
 ad cohibendum incertum suo ingenio an militum.
 to control (it), uncertain of his own ability or that of (his) soldiers
 Electus ita simul successor et ultor, rariss-
 (He) chosen thus at the same time as a successor and an avenger, with
 sima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos
 the rarest moderation preferred to seem to have found (them) good
 quam fecisse. 8. Vettius Bolanus tunc
 men rather than to have made them (so) Vettius Bolanus then
 praeerat Britanniae placidius quam est dignum fer-
 commanded Britain more mildly than was worthy a war-
 oci provincia. Agricola temperavit suam vim que
 like province. Agricola tempered his power and
 compescuit ardorem ne increceret, peri-
 curbed (his) ardor, that he might not become puffed up,
 tus obsequi que eruditus miscere utilia honesta-
 trained to obey, and instructed how to mingle expediency with hon-
 tis. Brevi deinde Britannia accepit Petillum
 esty. Shortly after Britain received (as governor) Petilius
 Cerialem, consularem. Virtutes habuerunt spatium
 Cerialis, an ex-consul. (Agricola's) virtues had (now) room to
 exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis communica-
 show themselves. But at first Cerialis shared (with
 bat modo labores et discrimina, mox gloriam et; saepe
 him) only toils and perils, soon glory also; often he
 praefecit parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando
 put him over a part of the army as an experiment, sometimes

maioribus copiis ex eventu. Nec Agricola um-
 ever greater forces in view of his success. Nor did Agricola
 quam exsultavit in suam famam gestis; re-
 ever vaunt for his own fame because of his deeds; he
 ferebat fortunam ad auctorem ac duces ut min-
 referred (his) success to his adviser and general as though a help-
 ister. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prae-
 Thus by his virtue in obeying, by his modesty in
 dicando, erat extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam.
 boasting, he was beyond envy, not beyond glory.

3. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasian
 On his way back from the command of the legion deified Vespasian
 adiecit inter patricios ac deinde praeposuit pro-
 took (him) into the patrician (order) and then put him over the
 vinctae Aquitaniae, inprimis splendidae dignitatis
 province of Aquitaine, especially of splendid character on account of
 administratione ac spe consulatus, cui
 its aid and the hope of the consulate, for which (the em-
 destinaret. Plerique credunt subtilitatem deesse
 geror) had chosen (him). Many believe that subtlety is lacking
 militaribus ingenis quia castrensis iurisdic-
 to military genius because military law free from
 cura et obtusior ac agens plura manu
 anxiety and somewhat blunt and doing much offhand
 non exerceat calliditatem fori. Agricola, naturali
 does not employ the cunning of the forum. Agricola of natural
 prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, agebat facile que
 prudence, although among civilians, acted readily and
 iuste. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque
 fairly. Moreover the hours of business and recreation were kept
 divisa; ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent,
 separate; when meetings and judicial (duties) demanded it (he
 gravius, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors;
 was) stern, thoughtful, austere, yet more often tender-hearted;
 ubi satis factum officio, nulla ultra
 when enough (was) done for (his) office, (he exercised) no further
 persona potestatis. Exuerat tristitiam et adrogantiam
 display of power. He put aside severity and pride
 et avaritiam, nec, quod est rarissimum, aut
 and avarice, nor did, what is very rare, either
 facilitas deminuit illi auctoritatem aut severitas
 his affability take (from) him his authority or his severity
 amorem. Fuerit iniuria virtutum referre
 (his friends') affection. It would be an insult to his virtues to refer to
 integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro. Osten-
 honesty and purity in so great a man. By show-
 tanda virtute aut per artem ne quaevisit quidem
 ing his virtue or by artifice he did not seek even
 famam, cui etiam boni saepe indulgent; procul
 fame, in which even good men often indulge: (he was) far

ab emulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentionem rivalit (with) against his colleagues, far from contention tione adversus procuratores, arbitratur et inglorium (with) against procurators, thought it both inglorious vincere et sordidum atteri. Detentus minus trient- to conquer and base to be put down. Detained less (than) three nium in ea legatione, revocatus est ac statim years in this governorship, he was recalled with an immediate ad spem consulatus, opinione comitante Britan- hope of the consulate, general opinion accompanying (him) that Brit- niam dari ei provinciam, nullis sermonibus suis ain was to be given him as a province, by no remarks (of) his own in hoc, sed quia videbatur par. Fama haud to this effect, but because it seemed right. Rumor does not semper errat; aliquando et elegit. Consul always err; sometimes it even has determined the choice. He, consul despondit mihi juveni filiam tum egregiae spei ac betrothed to me a youth (his) daughter then of noble hope and post consulatum collocavit, et statim praepositus est after his consulate gave (her), and at once he was put over Britanniae, sacerdotio pontificatus adiecto. 10 Britain, the sacerdotal office of pontificate being added.

Multis scriptoribus memoratos populosque citum Many writers having told the story of the people, the site Britanniae non referam in comparisonem of Britain, I will not refer to them with a view to a comparison curae ve ingenii, sed quia tum of care or ability (in research) but because (it was) then for the primum perdomita est; ita quae, nondum com- first time entirely subdued; so things which, not yet clearly perta, priores percoluere eloquentia, tradentur known, former men embellished with eloquence, will be told fide rerum. Britannia, maxima insularum quas with a fidelity to facts. Britain, the largest of the islands which Romana notitia complectitur, spatio ac caelo ob- Roman knowledge embraces, in extent and latitude lies over tenditur Germaniae in orientem, Hispaniae in oc- against Germany, on the east, against Spain on the cidentem, in meridiem inspicitur etiam Gallis. Eius west, on the south it is seen even by the Gauls. Its septentrionalia, nullis terris contra, pulsantur northern (shores), because no lands lie opposite, are beaten vasto atque aperto mari. Livius veterum Fabius Rus- by a vast and open sea. Livy of the old, (and) Fabius Rus- ticus, eloquentissimi auctores recentium adsimulavere tics the most graphic writers of recent (writers) likened formam totius Britanniae oblongae scutulae vel bi- the form of all Britain to an oblong dish or two- penni. Et ea est facies, citra Caledoniam, et edged axe. And this is its form, without Caledonia, and from

unde fama transgressa est in universam; sed
 which fact the report has gone abroad; but (there is)
 immensum et enorme spatium terrarum procurrentium iam
 a large and shapeless space of land jutting out indeed
 extremo litore velut tenuatur in cuneum. Romana
 from the extreme shore as if reduced to a wedge (shape). The Roman
 classis tunc primum circumvecta hanc oram
 fleet then for the first time having sailed around this shore
 novissimi maris adfirmavit Britanniam esse in-
 of the distant sea confirmed (the belief) that Britain is an
 sulam, ac simul invenit que domuit insulas
 island, and at the same time discovered and subdued islands
 incognitas ad id tempus, quas vocant Orcades.
 unknown up to this time, which (people) call the Orcades.
 Thule et dispecta est, quia hactenus iusum, et
 Thule also was seen dimly, for only so far did orders extend, and
 hiems adpetebat. Sed perhibent mare pigrum et
 winter was coming on. But they say (that) sea is sluggish and
 grave remigantibus, ne quidem atolli ventis per-
 heavy to rowers, (and) not even raised by winds as (other
 inde; credo quod terrae que montes,—
 seas are); I believe (it is) because lands and mountains,—the
 causa ac materia tempestatum, rariores, et profundas
 cause and source of storms, (are) rather rare, and the vast
 moles continui maris impellitur tardius. Est
 depths of unbroken sea are moved more slowly. It is not
 non huius operis quaerere naturam Oceani atque
 the purpose of this work to investigate the nature of the Ocean and
 aestus, ac multi rettulere. Addiderim unum,
 the tides, for many have spoken (of them). I would add one thing;
 nusquam mare latius dominari, ferre
 nowhere (does) the sea have wider dominion, (that) it receives
 multum fluminum huc atque illuc, nec ad crescere
 many rivers (flowing) hither and thither, nor (does it) increase (flow)
 tenuis litore aut resorberi sed influere penitus
 as far as the shore or is drawn back (ebbs) but flows far within
 atque ambire et inseri etiam iugis ac montibus
 and winds about and is fixed even in hills and mountains
 velut in suo. ¶ Ceterum ut inter
 as if in its own (domain). But as might be expected among
 barbaros, parum compertum qui mortales initio
 barbarians, little is known (about) what men originally
 coluerunt Britanniam, indigenae an advecti,
 inhabited Britain, (whether they were) indigenous or foreign.
 Habitūs corporum varii atque ex eo argu-
 The dress(es) of (their) bodies are various and from this (fact) con-
 mentum. Namque rutilae comae habitantium Cale-
 elusions (arise). Certainly the tawny hair of those inhabiting Cale-
 doniam magni artus adserverant Germanicam originem.
 donia, (and) large limbs prove them (of) German origin.

Colorati vultus **Silurum**, crines plerumque torti et
The swarthy complexions of the Silures, hair generally curly and
Hispania posita contra faciunt fidem veteres Hi-
Spain being located opposite create the belief that ancient Iber-
beros traiecit que occupasse eas sedes. Proximi
ians had crossed over and occupied these seats. Those nearest
Gallis sunt et similes, seu durante vi originis
the Gauls are also similar, either from the lasting force of descent
seu terris procurrentibus in diversa, posito caeli
or from lands jutting out to meet each other, the climate
dedit habitum corporibus. Tamen in universum aesti-
gave like appearance to their bodies. Yet in general to one
manti est credibile Gallos occupasse vicinam in-
considering, it is credible that the Gauls seized the nearby
sulam. Deprehendas eorum sacra, persuasiones
island. You would imagine their form of worship, convictions
superstitionum; sermo diversus haud multum;
of credulous wonder. the language differs not much;
eadem audacia in deposcendis periculis, et, ubi
there is the same boldness in challenging dangers, and, when
advenere, eadem formido in detrectandis. Tamen Bri-
it approaches, the same fear in shunning it. Yet the
tanni praeferunt plus ferociae, ut quos longa pax non-
Britons present more (of) ferocity, as those whom a long peace has
dum emolliverit. Namque accepimus Gallos quo-
not yet enervated. As you know, we have learned that the Gauls also
que floruisse in bellis; mox segnitia intravit cum
were eminent in war; soon sloth came in with
otio, ac virtute amissa pariter libertate. Quod
ease, and (their) valor (was) being lost together with liberty. And this
evenit olim victis Britannorum; ceteri manent
happened to the long conquered (tribes) of the Britons; the rest remain
quales fuerunt Galli. (12.) Robur in pedite;
such as they were when Gauls. Their strength is in infantry;
quaedam nationes et proeliantur curru; auriga
some tribes also fight with the chariot; the charioteer is of
honestior,— clientes propugnant. Olim parebant
higher rank,— the retainers fight. Formerly they obeyed
regibus, nunc trahuntur per principes factionibus et
kings, now they are divided under chieftains into factions and
studiis. Nec aliud utilius pro nobis adversus
parties. Nor is anything else more useful for us against (such
validissimas gentis quam quod non consulunt in
very strong tribes than the fact that they do not consult for
commune. Conventus rarus duabus ve tribus civ-
the common good. Alliance (is) rare by two or three
statibus ad propulsandum commune periculum; ita
states to ward off a common danger, thus
pugnant singuli, vincuntur universi. Caelum foedum
they fight singly, are conquered all together. The sky is dismal

crebris **imbris ac nebulis; asperitas frigorum**
 with frequent rains and clouds; severity of cold is
abest. **Spatia dierum ultra mensuram nostri orbis,**
 lacking. The length(s) of days exceeds the measurement of our latitude,
nox clara et extrema parte Britanniae
 night is clear and in the extreme part (north) of Britain
brevis ut internoscas exiquo discrimine finem
 (so) short that you can distinguish with little difference the end
atque initium lucis. Quod adfirmant si nubes non
 and beginning of light. But they say that if clouds do not
officiant, fulgorem solis aspici per noctem,
 hinder, the gleam of the sun can be seen all night, (that the
nec exsurgere et occidere, sed transire. Scilicet
 sun) does not rise and set, but crosses over. The truth is
extrema et plana terrarum, humili umbra, non
 extreme (and) low (parts) of lands, by (their) low shade, do not
erigunt tenebras, que nox cadit infra caelum et sidera.
 raise up darkness, and night falls below the sky and stars.
Praeter oleam que vitem et cetera sueta
 Except for the olive and vine and other (plants) accustomed (to grow)
calidioribus terris, solum fecundum, patiens frugum;
 in warmer countries, the soil is fertile, yielding (of) fruits;
mitescunt tarde, proveniunt cito; causa utriusque rei
 they ripen slowly; grow quickly; the cause of either fact
eademque,—multus umor terrarum caelique Britannia
 is the same,—much moisture of land and air. Britain
fert aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoria.
 bears golds and silver and other metals, as reward(s) of conquest.
Oceanus et gignit margarita, sed subfusca ac liven-
 The ocean too produces pearls, but brownish and livid
tia. Quidam arbitrantur artem abesse legentibus;
 (ones). Some think skill lacking to those collecting them;
nam in rubro mari avelli viva et spirantia saxa,
 as in the red sea (pearls) are torn living and breathing from rocks,
in Britannia, prout sint expulsa, colligi;
 while in Britain, just as they are thrown up, they are collected;
ego crediderim facilius naturam deesse margaritis
 I would think more readily the nature is lacking to the pearls
quam avaritiam nobis. 13. Britanni ipsi obeunt im-
 than avarice to us. The Britons themselves undergo cheer-
pigre dilectum ac tributa et munera imperii inuncta
 fully, conscription and taxes and burdens of the empire imposed
si iniuria absint; has tolerant aegre, iam par-
 if oppressions are absent; these they tolerate unwillingly, now they sub-
eant ut domiti, nondum ut serviant Divus Iulius,
 mit to (being) subjects, not yet as servants. Deified Julius,
ingressus Britanniam cum exercitu, primus omnium
 having crossed into Britain with an army the first of all
Romanorum, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit
 the Romans, although by a successful battle terrified, the

incolas ac potitus sit litore, potest videre os-
 nhabitants and got possession of the coast, is to be regarded to have
 tendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox civilia
 shown (it) to posterity, not to have transmitted (it). Then civil
 bella et arma principum versa in rem pub-
 wars (came) and the arms of our chiefs (were) turned against the repub-
 licam ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in
 tic (Rome) and (there was) a long forgetfulness of Britain even in
 pace. Id divus Augustus vocabat consilium, Tiberius
 peace. This died Augustus called public policy, Tiberius
 praeceptum. Satis constat Gaium Caesarem agi-
 an established rule. It is well established that Caius Caesar medi-
 tasse de intranda Britanni ni velox in genio mo-
 tated concerning invading Britain, had not he been hasty in changing his
 bill, paenitentiae et ingentes conatus ad-
 mind, owing to his fickle disposition, and his huge attempts
 versus Germaniam fuissent frustra. Divus Claudius auc-
 against Germany been in vain. Deified Claudius was lead-
 tor iterati operis, legionibus que auxiliis trans-
 er of the second attempt, legions and auxiliaries having been con-
 vectis et Vespasiano adsumpto in partem
 veyed over and Vespasian having been chosen to share
 rerum; quod fuit initium fortunatae mox
 the campaign; this was the beginning of (his) success soon
 venturae. Gentes domitae, reges capti, et Vespasianus
 to come; Tribes were subdued, kings captured, and Vespasian
 monstratus fatis. 14. Aulus Plautius primus
 pointed out by the fate. Aulus Plautius was the first (governor)
 consularium, ac Ostorius Scapula subinde, uterque egregius
 of consular rank, and Ostorius Scapula next, either famous
 bello; que proxima pars Britanniae redacta paulatim in
 in war; and the nearest part of Britain was reduced little by little in
 formam provinciae. Insuper colonia veteranorum addita.
 the form of a province. Moreover a colony of veterans was added.
 Quaedam civitates donatae regi Cogidumno, (is usque
 Some states were given to king Cogidumnus (who up to
 ad nostram memoriam, mansit fidissimus, ac vetere,
 our memory, remained very faithful and (thus) an old,
 iam pridem consuetudine Romani populi recepta, ut
 long established custom of the Roman people is resumed, that
 haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.
 (the Roman people) might have as instruments of dominion even kings.
 Mox Didius Gallus continuit parta a prioribus ad-
 Soon Didius Gallus combined (lands) gained by his ancestors
 modum promotis paucis castellis in ulteriora per
 merely enlarging a few forts in more remote (places) by
 quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Veranius
 which the fame of increased government was sought. Veranius
 excepit Didium, isque extinctus est infra annum. Hinc
 succeeded Didius, and he died within a year. Then

Suetonius Paulinus habuit res prosperas biennio, nationibus subactis que praesidiis firmatis; fiducia being subdued and garrisons being established; the assurance quorum insulam Monam, ut ministrantem vires rebel- of which (is) the island Mona, as it was furnishing forces to the libus, adgressus patefecit occasionei terga. Namque rebels, (and) seizing (this) he lay open to attack his rear. Indeed absentia legati, metu remoto, Britannia agitare in the absence of a legate, fear being removed, the Britons discussed inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias and exaggerated (them) by expounding (them). (They said) nothing et accendere interpretanda. Nihil profici and exaggerated them by expounding them. (They said) nothing is gained patientia, nisi ut graviora imperentur ex facili tam- by patience, except that heavier demands are made more easily as quam tolerantibus. Olim sibi fuisse singulos it from men tolerating (them) Formerly we had separate reges, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus kings, now two are put over (us), from whom a legate (chosen) aeviret in sanguinem, procurator in bona. Aequae rages over (our) lives, a procurator over (our) property. Equally discordiam praepositorum, aequae exitiosam con- (ruinous) is the discord of their governors, equally ruinous is their cordiam subiectis. Centuriones, manum alterius, harmony to their subjects. The centurions, the corps of one, servos alterius miscere vim et contumelias. Nihil the slaves of the other combine violence and insults. Nothing exceptum iam cupiditate, nihil libidini. Esse is exempt now (to) from their greed, nothing from their lust. It is fortiolem in proelio qui spoliaret; nunc plerumque domos the braver in battle who plunders; now for the most part our homes eripi ab ignavis et imbellibus, liberos abstrahi are rifled by cowards and unwarlike men, our children are torn from us dilectus infungi, tamquam nescientibus mori pro levies imposed, as if (we) knew not how to die for patria tantum. Enim quantum militum transisse our country alone. For how few (of) soldiers have crossed si Britanni numerent sese. Sic Germani into Britain if the Britons numbered themselves. Thus Germany fas excussisse iugum, et defendi flumine, non Oceanus; shook off the yoke, yet it is defended by a river, not the Ocean; sibi causas belli esse patriam, coniuges, parentes, illis to us the causes of war are fatherland, wives, parents, to them avaritiam et luxuriam. Recessuros ut divus Iulius avarice and luxury. They would withdraw as did Iulius recessisset, modo aemularentur virtutem suorum withdrew, if only they (Britons) would emulate the valor of their maiorum. Neve pavescerent eventu unius proelii ancestors. Let them not be alarmed by the outcome of one battle

aut alterius; plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes
 or another; more force, greater constancy belong
 esse miseros. Iam etiam deos misereri Britannorum,
 to the wretched. Now even the gods pity the Britons,
 qui detinerent absentem Romanum ducem, qui ex-
 (gods) who detain the absent Roman general, who detain (his)
 erciturum relegatum in alia insula, iam ipsos, quod fuerit
 army relegated to another island; now we, what was
 difficillimum, deliberare. Porro in consiliis eius modi,
 most difficult, have deliberated. Indeed in designs of this kind
 esse periculosius deprehendi quam audere. 16. In-
 it is more perilous to be detected than to dare.
 atincti in vicem his atque talibus, Boudicca,
 Aroused alternately by these and such (remarks), Boudicca,
 femina regii generis, duce, enim neque discerunt sexum
 a woman of kingly race leading, for they do not distinguish sex
 in imperiis, sumpserunt bellum. ac consec-
 in imperial succession, they took up war and pres-
 tati milites sparsos per castella, expugnatis prae-
 ing upon (our) soldiers scattered through the forts, storming the gar-
 sidis, invasere coloniam ipsam ut sedem servi-
 risonis, they invaded the colony itself thinking it the seat of sub-
 tutis; ira et victoria omisit nec ullum genus
 jection; in (their) wrath and victory overlooked not any kind
 saevitiae in barbaris. Nisi quod Paulinus,
 of cruelty among barbarians. Except for the fact that Paulinus,
 motu provinciae cognito, subvenisset propere, Bri-
 outbreak of the province becoming known, had come up quickly,
 tannia foret amissa; quam fortuna unus proelii
 Britain would have been lost; which the success of one battle
 restituit veteri patientiae, plerisque tenentibus arma,
 restored to its old obedience, many clinging to arms,
 quos conscientia defectionis et propius timor ex legato
 whom a knowledge of rebellion and peculiar fear of the legate
 agitabat; ne quamquam egregius cetera in
 troubled, although famous in other (respects) toward the
 deditos, adroganter, et consuleret durius ut
 conquered, he was arrogant, and considered them more sternly as
 ultor suae cuiusque iniuriae. Igitur Petronius
 an avenger of his own private wrongs. Therefore Petronius
 Turpillianus missus tamquam exorabilior; et
 Turpillianus was sent out as one more easily entreated; and a
 novus delictis hostium eoque mitior
 stranger to the misdeeds of the enemy and from this fact more lenient
 paenitentiae, compositis prioribus, ausus nihil
 to their penitence, settling former (troubles), daring (to do) nothing
 ultra, tradidit provinciam Trebellio Maximo; Tre-
 more, handed over the province to Trebellius Maximus.
 bellus segnior, et nullis experimentis castrorum,
 bellus (being) lazier, and (making) no trials of camp life,

tenuit provinciam quadam curandi comitate.
 controlled the province with a certain careful gentleness.
Barbari iam quoque didicere ignoscere blandientibus
 The barbarians now even learned to excuse attractive
vitilis, et interventus civilium armorum praebuilt iustam
 vices, and an intervention of civil wars furnished a just
excusationem segnitiae. Sed laboratum dis-
 excuse for inaction. But there was trouble on account of
cordia, cum miles adsuetus expeditionibus
 mutiny, since a soldier (troops) accustomed to expeditions
lasciviret otio. Trebellius, vitata fuga ac
 became wanton with ease. Trebellius, avoiding by flight and
latebris ira exercitus, indecorus atque humilis, praeferit
 by hiding the ire of the army, disgraced and humbled; governed
mox precario, ac velut pacti, exercitus licen-
 soon on sufferance, and as if by pact, the army (to have) (its) li-
tiam, dux salutem; et seditio stetit sine san-
 cense, the leader his safety; and the sedition came to a stop without
guine. Vettus Bolanus, adhuc civilibus bellis man-
 bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus, as long as civil wars
entibus, nec agitavit Britanniam disciplina;
 lasted, did not trouble Britain with discipline; (there was)
eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia cas-
 the same inactivity toward the enemy, similar wantonness of
trorum nisi quod Bolanus, innocens et invisus nullis
 camp life except that Bolanus, upright and hated by no
delictis, paraverat caritatem loco auctoritatis. 17.
 misdeeds, had introduced affection in place of authority
Sed ubi Vespasianus reciperavit et Britanniam cum
 But when Vespasian restored to unity also Britain with
cetero orbe magni duces, egregii exercitus,
 the rest of the world great generals, famous armies (all caused)
spes hostium minuta. Et Petilius Cerialis statim
 the hope of the enemy to be lessened. And Petilius Cerialis at once
intulit terrorem, adgressus civitatem Brigantum,
 struck terror (into them), having attacked the state of the Brigantes,
quae perhibetur numerosissima totius provinciae.
 which is said to be the most numerous of the whole province. *There were*
Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; quae am-
 many battles, and some(times) not bloodless; and he em-
plexus est magnam partem Brigantum aut victoria
 braced a great part of the Brigantes either by conquest
aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem obruisset curam
 or in war. And Cerialis indeed would have overshadowed the labor
que fama alterius successoris; Iulius Frontinus,
 and fame of (any) other successor; (but) Julius Frontinus,
magnus vir. sustinuit molem quantum licebat que
 a great man, equalled the task as far as he was permitted and
subegit armis validam et pugnacem gentem Silurum,
 subjected with arms the powerful and warlike tribe of the Silures.

eluctatus quoque difficultates licorum, super vir-
 having overcome also the difficulties of the country, over and above
 tutem hostium. 18. Agricola, transgressus iam
 the valor of the enemy Agricola, having crossed over about
 media aestate, invenit hunc statum Britanniae, has vices
 mid-summer, found this status of Britain, these vicissitudes
 bellorum, cum et milites ad securitatem velut ex-
 of war, since both the soldiers were looking for enjoyment as the
 peditione omissa et hostes verterentur ad occas-
 expedition was given up and the enemy "were looking" for opportu-
 ionem. Haud multo ante eius adventum civitas
 ity (to attack) Not much before his arrival a state
 Ordovicum obtriverat prope universam alam
 of the Ordovices had destroyed almost an entire cavalry division
 agentem on suis finibus, que eo initio provincia
 quartered on their frontier, and by this beginning the province
 erecta; et erat bellum quibus volentibus, pro-
 was aroused; and there was war to those wishing it, (who) ap-
 bare exemplum ac opperiri animum recentis le-
 proved (of) the example and awaited the spirit of the new gov-
 gati, cum Agricola, quamquam aestas transvecta
 erno, yet Agricola, although summer was far spent, (and)
 numeri sparsi per provinciam, quies illius anni
 troops were scattered through the province, rest of that year
 praesumpta apud militem, tarda et contraria
 was anticipated among the soldiery, (rest) retarding and opposing
 incohaturu bellum, et plerisque videbatur potius
 the beginning (of) war, and to many it seemed best rather
 custodiri suspecta, statuit ire obviam discrimini;
 to guard the suspected (forts), decided to meet the danger;
 contractis vexillis legionum, et modica manu auxil-
 getting together the troops of the legions, and a small band of auxil-
 iorum, quia Ordovices non audebant degredi in
 iaries, (and) because the Ordovices did not dare to come down into
 aequum, ipse erexit aciem ante agmen
 the plain, he himself led his troops up the hill before the battle line
 quo esset par animus
 in order that there might be equal spirit (to the rest of the troops)
 simili periculo. Que prope universa gente caesa,
 in similar danger. And almost the entire tribe being slain,
 non ignarus instandum famae ac,
 (Agricola) not ignorant (of the fact that) he must pursue renown and,
 prout prima cessissent, fore ter-
 just as the first events had resulted, that there would be ter-
 rorem ceteris, intendit animo redigere insulam
 sor to the rest, intended in (his) mind to subjugate the island
 Mona, possessione cuius Memoravi supra Pau-
 Mona, from the occupation of which I have said above (that) Pau-
 linum revocatum, rebellione num totius Britanniae. Sed
 linus was recalled, by the rebellion then of all Britain. But

ut in consiliis dubilis naves deerant; ratio
as happens in plans not fully matured ships were lacking; the skill
et constantia ducis transavit. Omnibus sar-
and perseverance of the leader carried them over. All bag-
ginis depositis, inmisit lectissimos auxilium,
gage being laid aside, he sent the best selected of the auxiliaries,
quibus vada nota et patrius usus
to whom fords are known and (to whom there was) hereditary skill
nandi quo regunt simul seque et arma
of swimming by which they control simultaneously themselves and arms
et equos, ita repente ut obstupescerent hostes, qui expec-
and horses, so suddenly that the stupefied enemy, who were ex-
tabant classem, qui navis, qui
pecting a fleet, who were expecting ships, who were expecting attack
mare, crediderint nihil arduum aut invictum venientibus
by sea, thought nothing arduous or invincible to those coming
sic ad bellum. Ita pace petita ac insula dedita,
thus to war So, peace being sought and the island surrendered,
Agricola haberi magnus ac clarus, quippe cui
Agricola was considered great and famous, for he was one whom
labor et periculum placuisset ingredienti provinciam,
toil and danger had pleased on entering his province,
tempus quod alii transigunt per ostentationem et ambi-
a time which others spend in vain display and a round
tum officiorum. Nec Agricola usus prosperitate
of public ceremony Nor did Agricola use his success
rerum in vanitatem vocabat expeditionem aut vic-
(of affairs) for vainglory (or) say that his expedition or vic-
toriam continuisse victos. Ne quidem prose-
tory, had restrained a conquered (people) He did not even fol-
cutus est gesta laureatis, sed auxit famam
low up his deeds in laurelled (letter), but he increased his fame
ipsa dissimulatione famae, aestimantibus quanta
by the very dissimulation of fame, (men) inferring with what great
spe futuri tacuisset tam magna. 19.
hope of the future he kept silent about so great (things)
Ceterum prudens animorum provinciae, simulque
But aware of the feelings of the province, and at the same time
doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis,
taught by others' experiments (that) little is gained by war,
si iniuriae sequerentur, statuit excidere causas
if oppressions follow, He decided to cut off the causes
bellorum. Orsus primus a se que suis,
of the wars. Beginning first with himself and his family,
coercuit suam domum, quod est haud minus arduum
he restrained his own household, which is no less difficult
plerisque quam regere provinciam. Nihil publicae rei
for many than to rule a province Nothing of state interest
per libertos que servos. Ascire centurionem
(through) through freedmen and slaves. He chose a centurion

ve milites non privatis studiis nec ex commendatione aut
or soldiers not by private desires nor from recommendation or
precibus, sed quemque putare optimum fidiſſimum.
entreaties, but (chose) whomever he considered best (and) most loyal.

Scire omnia, non exsequi omnia; commodare
He knew everything, did not follow out everything; he granted
veniam parvis peccatis, severitatem magnis, nec contentus
pardon to small wrongs, severity to great, nor was he con-
esse semper poena, sed saepius paenitentia; prae-
tent always with punishment, but more often with penitence; he
ponere officiis et administrationibus non pecca-
placed in office and in management (men) not likely to do
turos potius quam damnare cum peccassent.
wrong rather than to condemn them when they had wronged.

Moliri exactionem frumenti et tributorum aequal-
He lightened the exaction of grain and of tributes by an equaliza-
tate munerum, circumcisis reperta in quaestum
tion of the burdens, having cut off (things) devised for gain
quae tolerabantur gravius tributo ipso. Namque
which were tolerated more gravely (than) the tribute itself. Hitherto
cogebantur adsidere per ludibrium clausis horreis et
they were forced to sit in mockery by closed granaries and
emere frumenta ultro ac ludere pretio; devortia
to buy grain needlessly and to sport with the price; by-paths
itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicabatur ut civita-
of the routes and remoteness of regions were fixed so that states,
tes, hibernis proximis, deferrent in

although winter quarters were very near, had to carry grain to
remota et avia, donec quod erat in promptu
remote and out-of-way (places), until what was at hand
omnibus fieret lucrosus paucis. 26. Comprimendo
for all became profitable to the few. By repressing
haec statim circumdedit egregiam famam paci
these (evils) at once he restored (its) illustrious fame to peace

primo anno, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia
in his first year, which either by indifference or intolerant arrogance
priorum timebatur haud minus quam bellum. Sed ubi
of former men was feared no less than war. But when
aestas advenit, contractu exercitu, multus in agmine,
summer came, assembling the army, he, frequently in the ranks,
laudare modestiam, coercere disiectos; ipse capere loca
praised modesty, restrained stragglers; he himself chose places

castris, ipse praetemptare aestuaria ac silvas; et
for the camp, he himself examined estuaries and forests; and
interim pati nihil quietum apud hostis, quo minus
meanwhile he allowed no(thing) (of) rest to the enemy, to prevent
popularetur subitis excursibus; atque ubi ter-
(the enemy) ravaging by sudden incursions; and when it had
ruerat satis, parcendo, ostentare invitamenta
terrified (him) enough, he, by forbearing, showed the allurement

pacis rursus. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in
 of peace again. By which facts many states, which up to
 illum diem egerant ex aequo, datis obsidibus, posuere
 that day had acted independently, giving hostages, laid aside
 iram, et circumdatae praesidiis que castellis
 their wrath, and being surrounded by garrison and forts with so
 tanta ratione que cura ut nulla nova pars
 great a skill and care that with which no new part
 Britanniae ante transierit pariter inaccessa. 21.
 of Britain before had come over so peacefully. The
 Sequens hiems absumpta saluberrimis consiliis. Nam-
 following winter was taken up with very salutary plans. For
 que ut homines dispersi ac rudes eo-
 (Agricola), in order that men scattered and barbarous, and there-
 que faciles in bella aduescerent quieti et
 fore prone to war might grow accustomed to quiet and
 otio per voluptates, hortari privatim, adiuuare
 to ease, through pleasures, encouraged them privately, aided
 publice ut exstruerent templa fora domos laudanto
 publicly to construct temples and forums and homes by praising
 promptos et castigando segnes. Ita erat aemulatio
 the prompt and by reproving the lazy. Thus there was emulation
 honoris pro necessitate. Iam vero erudire
 of honor instead of compulsion. Moreover he "had" educated the
 filios principum liberalibus artibus, et anteferre ingenia
 sons of the chiefs in the liberal arts, and so preferred the talents
 Britannorum studiis Gallorum ut qui modo
 of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately
 abnuebant Romanam linguam concupiscerent eloquentiam.
 rejected the Roman tongue now coveted its eloquence.
 Inde etiam honor nostri habitus et frequens toga
 Hence even esteem of our clothing and common (use of) the toga
 que paulatim discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum,
 arose, and gradually it descended to allurements of vices,
 porticus et balinea et elegantiam convivorum; que id
 porticoes and baths and elegance of banquets; and this
 vocabatur humanitas apud imperitos, cum esset pars
 was called culture among the ignorant, when it was a part
 servitutis. 22. Tertius annus expeditionum aperuit
 of their servitude. The 3rd year of campaigns opened up
 novas gentis, nationibus vastatis usque ad Tanaum,
 new tribes, the natives being ravaged as far as the Tanaum,
 (nomen est aestuario). Hosti, territi qua formi-
 the name is for an estuary). The enemy, terrified by this fear,
 dine non ausi lacessere exercitum, quamquam con-
 did not dare to attack (our) army although it was af-
 fictum saevis tempestatibus, insuper fuit spatium
 flicted by violent storms, moreover there was time
 ponendis castellis. Periti adnotabant non alium
 for erecting forts. Skilled (men) remarked that no other

ducem legisse sapientius opportunitates locorum,
 leader had chosen more wisely advantageous (of) places, that
 sullum castellum positum ab Agricola expugnatum aut
 no fort set up by Agricola was stormed either
 vi hostium aut desertum pactione aut fuga;
 by force of the enemy or deserted through capitulation or flight;
 eruptiones crebrae; nam firmabantur adversus
 sallies were frequent: for they were fortified against
 moras copiis annuis. Ita hiems ibi in-
 delays with supplies enough for a year So winter there was
 trepida, et quisque praesidio sibi, irritis
 free from alarm and each one was (for) a garrison to himself, the baffled
 hostibus eoque desperantibus quia, soliti pler-
 enemy therefore despairing because, accustomed gener-
 umque pensare damna aestatis hibernis eventi-
 to repair losses of the summer with winter successes
 bus. tum pellebantur iuxta aestate atque hieme,
 then were repelled alike in summer and in winter.
 Nec umquam Agricola, avidus, intercept gestas
 Never did Agricola, covetous, appropriate unjustly deeds
 per alios; seu centurio seu praefectus habebat incor-
 of others; both centurion and prefect had (in him) an im-
 ruptum testem facti. Apud quosdam narrabatur
 partial witness of his deed. Among some he was said to be
 acerbior in conviciis; erat ut comis bonis ita
 too harsh in his reproofs; he was as gentle to the good as
 infucundus adversus malos. Ceterum nihil secretum
 he was unpleasant toward the bad. But nothing secret
 supererat ex iracundia, ut non timeres eius si-
 survived from his wrath, so that you would not fear his si-
 lentium; putabat honestius offendere quam
 lence; he thought it more honest to offend than to conceal
 odisse. 23. Quarta aestas insumpta obtinendis quae
 hatred. The 4th summer was taken up in securing what
 percucurrerat; ac si virtus exercituum et gloria
 he had overrun; and if the valor of our armies and the glory
 Romani nominis pateretur, terminus
 of the Roman name had allowed it, an end (of conquest) would have,
 inventus in Britannia ipsa. Namque Clota et Bo-
 been found in Britain itself. For Clota and Bo-
 dotria, revectae per immensum aestibus diversi
 dotria, (estuaries), carried back very far by the tides of & different
 maris, dirimuntur angusto spatio terrarum; quod
 seas, are separated by a narrow strip of land(s), which
 firmabatur tum praesidiis atque omnis propior
 (strip) was fortified then by garrisons and all the nearer
 sinus tenebatur, hostibus sum-
 shore of the bay was held (by the Romans), the enemy being driven
 motis velut in aliam insulam. 24. Transgressus
 off as into another island. Crossing over

Prima nave quinto anno expeditionum.
 in the first ship in the 5th year of the expeditions. (Agricola)
domuit crebris ac simul prosperis proeliis
 subdued in frequent and at the same time successful battles
gentis ignotas ad id tempus; que instruxit copias
 tribes unknown up to this time; and he equipped with troops
eam partem Britanniae quae aspicit Hiberniam, magis in
 that part of Britain which faces Ireland, more in
spem quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia,
 the hope than thru fear that, since Ireland, being sit-
sita medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam et quo-
 vated midway between Britain and Spain and also
que opportuna Gallico mari, miscuerit magna
 opportunely so for the Gaulic sea, (it) might connect with great
in vicem usibus valentissimam partem imperii.
 mutual benefits the most powerful part of the empire.
Spatium etiam, si comparetur Britanniae, angustius
 The extent of this, if compared to Britain, is narrower, but
superat insulas nostri maris. Solum que
 surpasses the islands of our sea. (Mediterranean). The soil and
caelum, et ingenia que cultus hominum differt a Bri-
 climate, and natures and dress of its people differ from Bri-
tannia haud multum in melius; aditus que portus
 ain not much for the better; the approaches and harbors are
cogniti per commercia et negotiatores. Agricola ex-
 known thru commerce and traders. Agricola had re-
ceperat unum expulsus ex regulis gentis do-
 ceived one (king) driven out from the rule of his tribe by in-
mestica seditione ac retinebat specie amicitiae
 ternal sedition and retained him in the guise of friendship till he
in occasionem. Saepe audiui ex eo Hiberniam
 could use him. Often I have heard from him that- Ireland
posse debellari que obtineri una legione et modicis
 could be occupied and secured by one legion and a few
auxiliis; que id profuturum etiam adversus Britan-
 auxiliaries; and it would be of use even to Britain
niam si Romana arma ubique et libertas velut
 if Roman arms (were) everywhere and liberty as though
tolleretur e conspectu. 25. Ceterum aestate qua
 banished from sight. But in the summer in which
incohabat sextum annum officii amplexus
 he began the 6th year of his office he embraced (in design)
civitates sitas trans Bodotriam, quia motus
 the states situated beyond Bodotria, and as commotions
universarum gentium timebantur ultra, et itinera hos-
 of all the tribes were feared besides, and the routes of a hos-
tis exercitus infesta, exploravit portus
 tile army were beset with danger, he explored the ports with a
classe; quae adsumpta primum ab Agricola in partem
 fleet; which employed first by Agricola as a part of

batur in castris ipsis, cum Agricola, edoctus
 fought in the camp itself, when Agricola, having learned
 ex exploratoribus iter hostium et inse-
 from his scouts the route of the enemy and having fol-
 cutus vestigiis, iubet velocissimos equitum et
 lowed in their tracks, orders the fleetest of the cavalry and
 peditum adsultare tergis pugnantium, cla-
 infantry to attack the rear of those fighting, and (orders) a
 morem adici mox ab universis; et propinquas
 shout to be raised shortly by all; and at the nearing
 luce signa fulsere. Ita Britanni ter-
 light (daybreak) his standards glittered. Thus the Britons were
 riti ancipiti malo; et animus rediit Romanis, ac
 alarmed by a double peril; and spirit returned to the Romans, and
 securi pro salute certabant de gloria. Ultro quin
 secure as to their safety they fought for glory. In turn
 erupere etiam, et proelium fuit atrox in ipsis
 they attacked even, and the battle was furious in the very
 angustis portarum, donec hostes pulsati, utro-
 narrow (places) of the gates, until the enemy was routed, either
 que exercitu certante, ut viderentur tulisse opem
 army contending, so that they seemed to have borne aid
 his, illis ne eguisse auxilio. Quod nisi pa-
 to these, that these did not need aid. Had not the
 ludes et silvae texissent fugientes, foret
 swamps and forests sheltered the fleeing enemy, the war would have
 debellatum illa victoria. 27. Conscientia
 been finished by that victory. With a knowledge
 culus ac ferox fama exercitus fremebant
 of this and elated with their fame, our army cried out that
 nihil invium suae virtuti et Caledoniam
 nothing was insuperable to their valor and that Caledonia
 penetrandam que, continuo cursu proellorum, fer-
 must be penetrated and, after an unbroken course of battles, the
 minum Britanniae tandem inveniendum; atque
 limit of Britain at length must be discovered; and those
 illi modo cauti ac sapientes erant post
 who just now were cautious and prudent became, after
 eventum prompti ac magniloqui. Haec est iniquissima
 the event eager and boastful. This is the very unfair
 condicio bellorum; omnes vindicant prospera sibi,
 condition of wars; all claim successes for themselves,
 adversa imputantur uni. At Britanni rati se
 adversities are imputed to one. But the Britons, thinking themselves
 victos non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis,
 conquered, not by our valor, but by surprise and the skill of our leader
 remittere nihil ex adrogantia, quo minus armarent juveni-
 yielded nothing from their arrogance, nay even armed their
 tutem, transferrent coniuges ac liberos in tuta loca, ac
 youth, transferred their wives and children to safe places, and

coetibus sancirent sacrificiis conspirationem civita-
in assemblies ratified with sacred rites an alliance of the states.
tum. Atque ita irritatis animis utrimque, dis-
And thus with irritated feelings on both sides, the armies
cessum. 28. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum con-
(it) withdrew. In the same summer a cohort of the Usipi,
scripta per Germanias et transmissa in Britanniam ausa est
levied in Germany and transmitted to Britain dared
magnum ac memorabile facinus. Occiso centurione ac
a great and memorable deed. Having killed a centurion and
militibus qui immixti manipulis ad tradendam dis-
soldiers who were mingled with the forces to impart dis-
ciplinam et habebantur exemplum et rectores, ascen-
discipline and were considered an example and leaders, they went
dere tris liburnicas, gubernatoribus adactis per vim,
aboard three swift galleys with pilots forced by violence,
et uno remigante, duobis suspectis eoque in-
and with one rowing, two being suspected and therefore
terfectis, praevehebantur, miraculum ut rumore
killed, they sailed past, strange to say, rumor of them
nodum vulgato. Mox egressi ad aquandum atque
not yet being abroad. Soon disembarking for water and
raptum utilia, et congressie cum plerisque Britannorum
to seize provisions, and meeting with many of the Britons
defensantium proelio sua ac saepe victores, ali-
defending by battle their property and often victorious, some-
quando puls, eo venere ad extremum inopiae,
times routed, by which they came to the extremity of want, so
ut vescerentur infirmissimos suorum, mox ductos
that they ate the feeblest of their men, soon those chosen
sorte. Atque ita circumvecti Britannia, navibus
by lot. And so having sailed around Britain, their ships being
amissis per inscitiam regendi, habiti pro
lost through ignorance of controlling them, being considered as
praedonibus, intercepti sunt primum a Suebis, mox a
pirates, were intercepted first by the Suebi, later by the
Frisiis. Ac fuere quos, venundatos per com-
Frisii. And there were some whom, sold through
mercia et adductos usque in nostram ripam mu-
trade and brought as far as our bank (Rhine) in
tatione ementium, iudicium tanti casus inlus-
exchange of barter, the opinion of so great an adventure rendered
travit. 29. Initio aestatis Agricola ictus
famous. At the beginning of the summer Agricola was struck with
domestico vulnere, amisit filium natum anno ante. Quem
a family affliction, he lost a son born a year before. Which
casum tulit neque ambitiose ut plerique fortium
calamity he bore not ostentatiously as many (of) brave
virorum, neque rursus per lamenta ac mullebriter
men (do), nor on the other hand in tears and womanish

maerorem; et in luctu remedia inter erat bellum. Igitur
 grief; and in grief his remedy was war. Therefore
 praemissa classe, quae, praedata pluribus locis,
 sending ahead the fleet, which, having plundered at many places,
 faceret magnum et incertum terrorem, expedito
 might produce great and vague alarm, with light
 exercitu cui addiderat ex Britannia fortissimos et
 cavalry to which he had added from the Britons very brave men and
 exploratos longa pace, pervenit ad Graupium montem,
 (men) tried by long peace, he advanced to the Grampium hill(s),
 quem hostis iam insederat. Nam Britanni fracti
 which the enemy now had occupied. For the Britons, disheartened
 nihil eventu prioris pugnae, et expectantes ul-
 none by the outcome of the former battle, and anticipating re-
 tionem aut servitium, quae tandem docti commune per-
 vengeance or slavery, and at last taught that the common
 iculum propulsandum concordia, exciverant legation-
 danger must be expelled by union, had aroused by embas-
 sies et foederibus vires omnium civitatum. Iamque
 sies and treaties the power(s) of all their states. And now
 super triginta milia armatorum aspicebantur, et omnis
 above thirty thousand of armed men were to be seen, and all
 juvenus adfluebat adhuc et quibus senectus
 the youth were pouring in besides and those whose old age
 cruda ac viridis, clari bello et quisque gestantem
 (was yet) hale and vigorous, famous in war and each bearing
 sua decora, cum apud plures duces
 his own badges of honor, while among many leaders (a man)
 praestans virtute et genere, Calgacus nomine, fertur
 pre-eminent in valor and birth, Calgacus by name, is said to have
 locutus in hunc modum apud contractam multitudinem
 spoken in this manner to the gathered multitude
 poscentem proelium: 30. "Quotiens intueor causas
 demanding battle: "Whenever I consider the causes
 belli et nostram necessitatem, mihi est magnus
 of war and our desperate condition. "I have" great con-
 animus hodiernum diem que consensum vestrum fore
 fidence that this day and union of yours will be
 initium libertatis toti Britanniae. Nam et uni-
 the beginning of freedom for all Britain. For even we,
 versi, expertes servitutis et nullae terrae ultra
 as a whole, are devoid of slavery and no lands lie beyond (us)
 ac ne quidem mare securum, Romana classe imminente
 and not even the sea is safe, the Roman fleet menacing
 nobis. Ita proelium atque arma, quae honesta forti-
 us. Thus battle and arms, which are honorable for brave
 bus, eadem sunt etiam tutissima ignavis. Priores
 men, the same are even the safest for cowards. Former
 pugnae, in quibus certatum est varia fortuna
 battles, in which "it was (we) struggled" with varying fortune

adversus Romanos, habebant spem ac subsidium in nos-
 against the Romans, held out hope (of) and aid to
 tris manibus, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae be-
 bur hands, because we, the noblest of all Britain be-
 poque siti in ipsis pentalibus nec aspicientes
 cause we are situated in the very interior and not beholding
 litora servientium, habebamus oculos quoque invio-
 the shores of the conquered, kept our eyes also unpol-
 latus a contactu dominationis. Recessus ipse ac
 luted by the contact of slavery. The retreat itself and safe-
 sinus famae defendit in hunc diem nos ex-
 guard of our fame has defended to this day us living in the ex-
 tremos terrarum ac libertatis; atque omne ig-
 treme (parts) of the world and of liberty, and everything un-
 notum est pro magnifico. Sed nunc terminus Britan-
 known is (taken) as splendid. But now the end of Britain
 niae patet, nulla gens iam ultra, nihil nisi fluc-
 lies open, no tribe now lies beyond (us) nothing except
 tus saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam
 waves, rocks, and the more hostile Romans, whose oppression you
 effugeris frustra per obsequium ac modestiam.
 would escape in vain through obedience and yielding.
 Raptores orbis postquam vastantibus cuncta,
 Plunderers of the world, after having devastated everything,
 terrae defuere, scrutantur iam et mare; si hostes
 lands fail (them), they ransack now even the sea; if the enemy
 est locuples, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi,
 is rich, they are greedy, if poor, eager for dominion.
 quos non Oriens non Occidens satiaverit. Soli
 they whom neither the east nor the west has satisfied. Alone
 omnium concupiscunt pari adfectu opes atque
 of all men they covet with equal disposition riches and
 inopiam. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nomini-
 poverty. To rob, to kill, to plunder, under false names
 bus imperium, atque ubi faciunt solitudinem, ap-
 (they call) empire, and when they make a solitude, they
 pellant pacem. §1. Natura voluit cuique liberos
 call (it) peace. Nature has willed that everyone's children
 ac suos propinquos esse carissimos. Hi aufer-
 and his relatives be his dearest objects. These are
 entur per dilectum servituri alibi: confuges que
 borne off through conscription to serve elsewhere. our wives and
 sorores, etiam si effugiant hostilem libidinem, pollui-
 sisters, even if they escape the enemy's lust, are dis-
 untur nomine amicorum atque hospitum. Bona
 honored in the name of friendship and hospitality. Our goods
 que fortunae in tributum, ager atque annus in fru-
 and fortunes are taken for tribute, "our harvest" for their
 mentum, ipsa corpora ac manus conterentur inter ver-
 granaries, our very bodies and hands are worn out amid

Mancipia nata servituti veneunt semel, atque aluntur
 Creatures born to slavery are sold once for all, and supported
bera ac contumelias emuniendis silvis ac paludibus.
 blows and insults in clearing out forests and swamps.

ultra a dominis; Britannia cottidie emit suam serv-
 moreover by their masters; Britain daily buys its own slav-
itutem, cottidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia etiam
 ery, daily feeds it. And as in a slave retinue even
quisque recentissimus servorum est ludibrio con-
 every(one) most recent comer of the slaves is (for) a jest to his
servis, sic in hos vetere famulatu orbis terrarum nos,
 companion slaves, so in this old servitude of the world we,
novi et viles, petimur in excidium. Neque enim sunt
 new and contemptible, are sought for destruction. Nor even "have
nobis arva, aut metalla aut portus, exercendis quibus
 we fields, or mines or ports, for working which

reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subsectorum
 we may be spared. The valor indeed and courage of subjects are
ingrata imperantibus; longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo
 offensive to rulers; distance and remoteness itself, the
tutus eo suspectus. Ita spe veniae
 safer (it is) the more suspected (it is). So hope of pardon being
sublata, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus
 taken away, at last take courage, both (you) to whom safety
quam quibus gloria est carissima. Brigantes, fem-
 and (you) to whom glory is most dear. The Brigantes, a
ina duce, potuere exurere coloniam, expugnare cas-
 woman leading, were able to burn a colony, to storm a camp,
tras, ac nisi felicitas vertisset in socordiam,
 and had not their success been turned into sloth, (would

exuere iugum; nos, integri et indomiti, et
 have been able) to put off the yoke; let us, unsullied and unsubdued, and
non bellaturi in libertatem in patientiam, osten-
 non likely to wage war against freedom for submission, show
damus statim primo congressu quos viros Caledonia
 at once at the first onset what heroes Caledonia

seposuerit sibi. 32. An creditis adesse eandem
 has reserved for itself. Do you think there is the same

virtutem in bello Romanis quam lasciviam in pace? Illi
 valor in war to the Romans as jollity in peace? They

clari nostris dissensionibus ac discordiis ver-
 are famous through our dissensions and discords (and) con-
tunt vitia hostium in gloriam sui exercitus;
 vert the faults of the enemy into the glory of their army;

quem contractum ex diversissimis nationibus, ut secundae
 which gathered from very different nations as success
res tenuit ita adversae dissolvent; nisi si
 holds together so adversities will break up; unless by chance you

Gallus et Germanos et (pudet dictu) plerosque
 think Gauls and Germans and (it shames me to say it) many
Britannorum licet commodent sanguinem alienae dom-
 of the Britons are allowed to supply force to another's
inationi, tamen hostes diutius quam servos,
 rule, yet have been its enemies longer than its subjects, do you
putatis teneri fide et adfectu. Metus ac terror est,
 think them held by fidelity and affection. Fear and terror exist,
infirma vincla caritatis; ubi removeris quae, qui
 weak bonds of attachment; and when you remove these, those who
desierint timere incipient odisse. Omnia incitamenta vic-
 cease to fear will begin to hate. All the incentives to vic-
toriae sunt pro nobis; nullae coniuges accendunt Romanos,
 tory are with us; no wives encourage the Romans,
nulli parentes exprobraturi fugam; aut est nullae
 no parents to upbraid their flight; either there is no
patria plerisque aut alia. Nobis di tra-
 fatherland to many of them or it is far away To us the gods have
diderunt paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, spec-
 delivered them few in number, dismayed by their ignorance, behold-
tales caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas omnia circum
 ing the sky itself and the sea and the forests and all around
ignota, clausos quodam modo ac victos. Ne vanus
 unknown, shut in "as it were" and conquered. Let not vain
aspectus et fulgor auri atque argenti terreat quod
 show and the gleam of gold and silver terrify you, which
neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa acie hostium
 neither protects nor wounds. In the very line of the enemy
inveniemus nostras manus; Britanni adgnoscent suam
 we shall find our forces; Britons will recognize their
causam, Galli recordabuntur priorem libertatem, ceteri Ger-
 cause, Gauls will recall former liberty, the other Ger-
mani deserent illos, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt.
 mans will desert them, just as lately the Usipi left them,
Ultra nec quicquam formidinis; vacua castella,
 Beyond them there is not any (of) fear; ungarrisoned forts,
coloniae senum, inter male parentes et iniuste imper-
 colonies of old men, between bad parents and unjust rul-
antes municipia aegra et discordantia. Hic dux, hic
 ers the towns are agitated and discordant. Here a leader, there
exercitus; ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae poenae servi-
 an army; there tributes and mines and other penalties of
entium, quas perferre in aeternum aut statim ulcisci
 slaves, which to endure eternally or at once to avenge it
est in hoc campo. Proinde ituri in
 remains for this field (to decide). Then as you are about to go into
aciem cogitate et vestros maiores et posteros. 23.
 battle think both of your ancestors and posterity. They
Excepere orationem alacres, ut moris bar-
 received his speech with enthusiasm, as is (of) the custom with

baris, cantu que fremitu et dissonis clamoribus. Iam-
 barbarians, with song and shout and discordant cries. And
 que agmina et fulgores armorum audentissimi
 now the troops and gleam(s) of arms were seen as the boldest men
 cuiusque procursu; simul acies instruebatur,
 of each (tribe) rushed forward; as the line was being formed,
 cum Agricola ratus militem, quamquam laetum et vix
 since Agricola thought the soldiery, although joyous and hardly
 coercitum munimentis, accendendum adhuc, dis-
 to be kept in the fortifications, ought to be encouraged still, spoke
 seruit ita: "est octavus annus, commilitones, ex quo vir-
 thus: "It is the 8th year, comrades, since by the
 tute et auspiciis Romani imperii, vestra fide atque
 valor and good fortunes of the Roman empire, by your loyalty and
 opera vicistis Britanniam. Tot expeditionibus, tot
 work you conquered Britain. In many campaigns, in many
 proeliis, seu fuit opus fortitudine adversus hostis
 battles, whether there was need of fortitude against the enemy
 seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam naturam
 or patience and toil almost against the very nature
 rerum; neque paenituit me militum neque vos
 of things, neither "has it grieved me" of my soldiers nor you of your
 ductis. Ergo egressi (ego veterum legatorum, vos
 leader. And so we have gone beyond (I of old governors, you
 priorum exercituum) terminos tenemus finem
 of former armies) the limits set by others, and we hold the last part
 Britanniae, non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis.
 of Britain, not by report or rumor, sed by camp and arms.
 Britannia inventa et subacta. Equidem saepe in
 Britain has been discovered and subdued. Indeed often on the
 agmine, cum paludes montes et flumina fatigarent
 march, when swamps and mountains and rivers were fatiguing
 vos, audiebam voces cuiusque fortissimi: 'quando
 you, I heard the voices of every very brave man: 'when will the
 hostis dabitur, quando acies?' Veniunt, extrusi e suis
 enemy be given, when a battle?' They come, driven from their
 latebris, et vota que virtus in aperto, que
 hiding places, and your wishes and valor have free play, and
 omnia prona victoribus atque eadem adversa
 everything is favorable to the victorious and the same is against
 victis. Nam ut pulchrum ac decorum in
 the conquered. For as it is noble and honorable while we are
 frontem, superasse tantum itineris, evasisse
 advancing, to have gone over so great (of) a march, to have traversed
 silvas, transisse aestuaria, ita quae prosperrima sunt
 forests, to have crossed estuaries, so things most fortunate
 hodie periculosissima fugientibus. Enim nobis
 today (will prove) most dangerous to us fleeing. For to us
 neque aut eadem notitia locorum aut eadem
 there is neither the same knowledge of the places nor the same

abundantia comestuum, sed manus et arma, et in
 abundance of supplies, but (we have) troops and arms, and in
 his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi
 these everything (lies). But for my part, long ago I made
 decretum est neque terga exercitus neque ducis esse
 pp my mind that neither flight of an army nor of a leader is
 tuta. Proinde et honesta mors potior vita
 safe. Therefore even an honorable death is better than a life
 turpi, et incolumitas ac decus sunt sita eodem
 of shame, and safety and honor are located in the same
 loco; nec fuerit inglorium cecidisse in ipso
 place; nor would it be inglorious to have died on the extreme
 fine terrarum ac naturae. 34. Si novae gentes atque
 bounds of the world and of nature. If new tribes and
 ignota acies constitisset hortarer vos
 an unknown battle line confronted you I should encourage you by
 exemplis aliorum exercituum; nunc recensete vestra
 the examples of other armies; now review your glorious
 decora, interrogate vestros oculos. Hi sunt quos, ad-
 deeds, question your eyes. These are they whom, at-
 gressos unam legionem furto noctis proximo anno,
 tackling a single legion in the secrecy of night last year,
 debellatis clamore; hi ceterorum Britannorum
 you routed with a shout; these of all the Britons are the
 fugacissimi. que ideo superstites tam diu. Quo
 worst runaways and therefore have survived so long. Just
 modo quodque fortissimum animal ruere contra
 as every very brave animal rushed out against (us)
 penetrantibus silvas que saltus, pavida et inertia
 penetrating forests and ravines, while the timid and feeble were
 pellebantur ipso sono agminis, sic acerrimi Bri-
 driven off by the very sound of our coming, so the bravest of the
 tannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus
 Britons long since have fallen, the rest is a crowd of
 ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenis-
 cowards and timid (ones). Whom now at last you have
 tis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt,
 found, not because they resisted, but have been overtaken, their
 novissimae res et torpor extremo metu defixere
 desperate conditions and torpor from extreme fear have fixed
 aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus ederetis pulchram
 their line in these tracks, in which you may display a noble
 ac spectabilem victoriam. Transigite cum expeditionibus,
 and remarkable victory. Have done with campaigns,
 imponente quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei
 place on 50 years' service a great day, prove to the
 publicae numquam potuisse aut moras belli aut
 republic that never could either delays of war or
 causas rebellandi imputari exercitui. 35. Et Agricola
 causes of rebelling be charged to its army. And while Agricola

adhuc adloquente ardor militum eminebat et in-
 still was speaking the ardor of the soldiers was increasing and
 gens alaoritas consecuta est finem orationis, que
 great enthusiasm followed the end of his speech, and
 statim discursum ad arma. Ita disposuit
 straightway (they) it rushed off to take up arms. He so arrayed
 instinctos que ruentes ut auxilia peditum,
 the eager and impetuous (men) that the auxiliaries of the infantry,
 quae erant octo millium, firmarent mediam aciem, tria
 which were 8 of thousands, strengthened the center line, three
 milia equitum adfunderentur cornibus. Legi-
 thousand of the cavalry were spread out on the wings. The legions
 ones stetero pro vallo, ingens decus
 stood in front of the intrenchment, great (would be) the honor
 victoriae bellandi citra Romanum sanguinem, et
 for a victory if won without Roman blood (being lost), and he
 auxilium, si pellerentur. Acies Britannorum in
 would have aid, if they were routed. The line of the Britons in
 speciem simul ac terrorem constiterat editoribus
 order to make an imposing appearance stood on the higher
 locis ita ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri insur-
 ground so that the first line was on the plain, the rest rose
 gerent velut conexi, per adclive iugum, covinnarius
 as if adjoining, up the slope of the hill; the charioteers
 eques complebat media campi strepitu ac dia-
 fill the center(s) of the plain with a din and running
 cursu. Tum Agricola veritus ne superante multi-
 about. Then Agricola fearing that from the superior num-
 tudine hostium pugnaretur simul in fron-
 ber of the enemy he should be attacked simultaneously on the
 tem et latera suorum, diductis ordinibus, quamquam
 front and flanks of his (troops), widening his ranks, although his
 acies erat futura porrectior, promptior in spem et
 line was likely to be too extended, more inclined to hope and
 firmus adversis, dimisso equo constitit
 steadfast against adversities, dismissing his horse, took his stand
 pedes ante vexilla. 36. Ac primo congressu cer-
 on foot before the standards. But at the first onrush it was
 tabatur eminus; Britanni simulque constantia simul
 fought at a distance; the Britons with like constancy and
 arte ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris vitare vel
 skill (used) their huge swords and small shields to avoid or
 excutere missilia nostrorum, atque ipsi super-
 cast off the missiles of our men, and they themselves poured
 fundere magnam vim telorum, donec Agricola cohortatus
 on us a great mass of darts, till Agricola exhorted
 est cohortes Batavorum ac duas Tungrorum ut ad-
 the cohorts of the Batavians and two (cohorts) of the Tungrians to

ducerent rem ad mucrones ac manus; quod
 bring the fight to swords and hands sword's point; which was
 et exercitatum ipsis vetustate militiae et inhabile
 both practiced by them in their long military life and awkward to
 hostibus gerentibus parva scuta et enormes gladios. Nam
 the enemy bearing small shields and large swords. For
 gladii Britannorum, sine mucrone, non tolerabant
 the swords of the Britons, without point, do not allow
 complexum armorum et pugnam in arto. Igitur ut
 close combat and fight at short range. Therefore when
 Batavi coepere miscere ictus, ferire um-
 the Batavians began to inflict blows at close quarters, to strike with
 bonibus, fodere ora, et stratis qui
 their shields, to disfigure their faces, and having prostrated those who
 adstiterant in aequo, erigere aciem in colles,
 resisted on the plain, began to advance the line up the hill(s),
 ceteras cohortes et conisae impetu aemulatione,
 the other cohorts also joining in the attack with emulation,
 caedere quosque proximos; ac plerique relinquebantur
 cut down all (each) very near; but many were left behind
 semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae. Interim
 half-dead or untouched in the haste of the victory. Meanwhile
 turmae equitum, ut covinnarii fugere, miscuere
 crowds of the cavalry, since the charioteers fled, mingled them-
 se proelio peditum, et quamquam intulerant re-
 selves in the battle of the infantry, and although they spread
 centem terrorem, tamen haerebant densis ag-
 new terror, yet they were retarded by the dense
 minibus hostium et inaequalibus locis; facies
 lines of the enemy and by the uneven places; the forms of the
 pugnae iam erat minimeque aequa nostris, cum in-
 battle now was the least favorable to our men, both
 stantes clivo aegre simul impellerentur cor-
 standing on the slope with difficulty and were hard pressed by the
 poribus equorum; ac saepe vagi currus, equi exter-
 bodies of the horses; and often roaming chariots, horses terri-
 riti sine rectoribus, ut formido tulerat quemque, incur-
 fled without drivers, as fear drove each one, dashed
 bant transversos aut obvios. 27. Et Britanni
 crosswise or straight ahead. And a few Britons,
 qui, adhuc expertes pugnae, insederant summa
 who, as yet not sharing in the battle, occupied the tops of the
 collium et, vacui, spernebant paucitatem nostrorum, coe-
 hills, and, idle, were disdainful of the fewness of our men, had
 perant degredi paulatim et circumire terga vin-
 begun to descend gradually and to surround the rear of those
 centium, ni Agricola, veritus id ipsum,
 conquering, and would have had not Agricola, fearing this very thing,

opposuisset venientibus quattuor alas equitum re-
 opposed to them coming four divisions of cavalry re-
 tentas ad subita belli, que quanto ferocius ad-
 tained for sudden emergencies of war, and the more furiously they
 cucerrent tanto acrius disiecisset pulsos in
 rushed on the more severely he hurled (them) routed into
 fugam. Ita consilium Britannorum versum in
 flight. Thus the plan of the Britons was turned against
 ipsos que alae transvectae a fronte pugnantium,
 them for the divisions turned around from the van of those fighting,
 praecepto ducis, invasere aversam aciem hos-
 by command of the leader, attacked the rear line of the ene-
 tium. Tum vero patentibus locis spectaculum
 my. Then indeed in the open places the spectacle was
 grande et atrox; sequi, vulnerare, capere,
 awful and atrocious: our men pursued, wounded, captured
 atque trucidare eosdem aliis oblati. Iam cater-
 only to kill the same when others met them. Now bands
 vae armorum hostium, prout ingenium erat cuique,
 of the armed enemy, as the disposition was to each
 praestare terga paucioribus, quidam inermes
 gave their backs to our fewer men (fled), some unarmed will
 ultro ruere ac offerre se morti. Passim
 ingly rushed out and offered themselves to death. Everywhere there
 arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus.
 were arms and corpses and mangled limbs and bloody ground,
 et aliquando etiam ira que virtus victis. Postquam
 and sometimes even rage and bravery to the vanquished. After
 appropinquaverunt silvis, item collecti et gnari
 they approached the woods, likewise collected and knowing
 locorum, circumveniebant primos sequentium in-
 the ground, they surrounded the first of the pursuers off
 cautos. Quod ni Agricola, frequens ubique, iusis-
 their guard. Had not Agricola, present everywhere ordered
 set validas et expeditas cohortes, et sicubi
 strong and light equipped cohorts, and wherever (the
 erant artiora, partem equitum, dis-
 places) were rather dense, a part of the cavalry, (after they had) dis-
 missis equis, simul equitem persultare
 missed their horses, and at the same time the cavalry to scour the
 rariores silvas modo indaginis, aliquod vulnus
 more open forests as a hunting party, serious loss would
 foret acceptum per nimiam fiduciam. Cet-
 have been sustained through the excessive confidence (of our men)
 erum ubi videre rursus compositos firmis
 But when they saw again (our men) well-ordered in their firm
 ordinibus sequi, versi in fugam, non agminibus, ut
 ranks, pursuing, they turned to flight, not in bands, as

prius, nec alius respectantes alium, rari et
 before, nor one looking for the other, (but) scattered and
 vitabundi in vicem, petiere longinqua atque
 avoiding one another, they sought the distant and outof-
 avia. Nox et satietas fuit finis sequendi. Ad
 way (places). Night and weariness were the end of the pursuit. About
 decem milia hostium caesa; trecenti sexaginta
 ten thousand of the enemy were killed; three hundred and sixty
 nostrorum cecidere, in quibus Aulus Atticus, praefectus
 of our men fell, among them Aulus Atticus, commander of
 cohortis, inlatus hostibus iuvenili ardore et fero-
 the cohort, borne against the enemy by his youthful ardor and spir-
 cia equi. 38. Et quidem nox gudioque laeta
 ited horse: And indeed night was (for) a delight and a joyful
 praeda victoribus. Britanni palantes mixtoque
 treasure to the victors. The Britons wandering in the mixed
 ploratu virorum que mulierum, trahere vulneratos, vocare
 wailing of men and women, bore off the wounded, called
 integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro
 the unhurt, deserted their homes and in their ire actually
 incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere;
 burned them; they chose hiding places and at once left them;
 miscere consilia in vicem, dein separare; aliquando
 they made plans together, then separated; sometimes
 frangi aspectu suorum pignorum, saepius concitari;
 disheartened by the sight of their dear ones, oftener enraged;
 satisque constabat quosdam saevisse in
 it is agreed that some vented their rage against their
 coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus
 wives and children, as though they pitied their lot. The next
 dies aperuit latius faciem victoriae: vastum silentium
 day displayed a wider view of the victory: vast silence
 ubique, secreti colles, tecta fumantia procul, nemo
 everywhere, deserted hills, houses smoking far away, no one
 obvius exploratoribus. Quibus dimissis in omnem
 met the scouts. These being sent in every
 partem, ubi compertum vestigia fugae incerta,
 direction, when it was learned that the traces of flight were uncertain,
 hostes neque conglobari usquam (et, aestate
 that the enemy were not being collected anywhere, (and, summer
 iam exacta, bellum nequibat spargi). deducit
 now being over, war could not be extended). (Agricola) led back
 exercitum in fines Borestorum. Acceptis obsidibus
 his army into the borders of the Boresti. Having received hostages
 ibi, praecipit praefecto classis circumvehi Britan-
 there, he gave orders to the commander of the fleet to sail around Britan-
 niam. Vires datae ad id, et terror praecesserat.
 ain. Forces were given for this, and alarm preceded it. Agricola
 Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo
 himself leading the infantry and cavalry by slow march, so that

animi novarum gentium terrentur mora
 the minds of the newly-conquered tribes might be terrified by the delay
 ipsa transitus locavit in hibernia. Et
 itself of his progress, placed them in winter-quarters. And simultan-
 simul classis secunda tempestate et fama tenuit
 eously the fleet with favorable wind and report, entered
 portum Truculensem, unde, omni proximo litore Britan-
 port Trutulensus, whence, all the nearest shore of Britain
 niae lecto, redierat. Hunc cursum rerum,
 being skirted, it had returned. This series of events,
 quamquam auctum nulla lactantia verborum epistulis
 though exaggerated by no boasting (of) words in the letters
 Agricolae, ut erat moris Domitiano, exceperat, laetus
 of Agricola, as was (of) the custom of (to) Domitian, he learned, joyful
 fronte, anxius pectore. Inerat conscientia
 in his face, but anxious in heart. It was common knowledge
 falsum triumphum nuper fuisse derisui,
 that his mock triumph recently had been derided, (people)
 emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines
 being bought from traders, whose dress and hair
 formarentur in speciem captivorum: at nunc
 might be formed into the style of captives. but now that
 veram que magnam victoriam tot hostium
 a true and great victory with so many of the enemy being
 caesis, celebrari ingenti fama. Id maxime formid-
 slain, was celebrated with great fame. This was especially alarm-
 olosum sibi, nomen privati hominis attolli supra
 ing to him, that the name of a private citizen be raised above
 principis; frustra studia fori et
 that of the emperor; in vain the studies of the forum legal eloquence and
 decus civillum artium acta in silentium si
 the splendor of the civil arts were driven into silence (put down) if
 alius occuparet militarem gloriam, cetera utcumque
 another won military glory, other things, in some ways
 diasimulari facilius, virtutem boni ducis
 or other, could be ignored more easily, but the valor of a good general
 esse imperatoriam. Exercitus talibus curis, satius
 was imperial. Troubled by such cares contented with his
 suo secreto, quodque erat iudicium saevae cogita-
 own secrecy, and this was a sure sign of a cruel pur-
 tionis, statuit optimum in praesentia reponere
 pose, he decided it was best for the present to lay aside
 odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus
 his hatred, until the force of his fame and the praise of the army
 langesceret; nam etiam tum Agricola obtinebat Britanniam
 should subside; for even then Agricola ruled Britain
 40. Igitur iubet triumphalia ornamenta et honorem
 Therefore he orders that the triumphal decorations and the honor
 inlustris statuæ et quidquid datur pro
 of a laurelled statue and whatever is given instead of

triumpho, cumulata multo honore verborum, decerni
triumphal procession, increased with much praise of words, be decreed
in senatu que opinionem insuper addi
in the senate and that the hint moreover be added that
Syriam destinari provinciam Agricolaë, tum vacuum
Syria was chosen as a province for Agricola, then vacant by the
morte Attili Rufi, consularis, et reservatam
death of Attius Rufus, of consular rank, and reserved for men of
maioribus. Plerique credidere libertum missum
great distinction. Many believed that a freedman sent
ex secretioribus ministeriis tulisse codicillos ad Agric-
on confidential work, bore writing-tablets to Agricola
olam, quibus Syria dabatur ei, cum praecepto ut, si
in which Syria was given to him, with the order that, if
foret in Britannia traderentur; que eum libertum
he were in Britain they be handed over; and that this freedman,
obvium Agricolaë in ipso freto Oceani remeasse
meeting Agricola in the very straits of the Ocean, returned
ad Domitianum, ne quidem appellato eo; sive istud est
to Domitian, not even saluting him; whether this is
verum, sive fictum ac compositum ex ingenio
true, or whether a story only invented to suit the character
principis. Interim Agricola tradiderat
of the emperor, (I can't say). Meanwhile Agricola had turned over
suo successori provinciam quietam que tutam. Ac ne
to his successor the province, quiet and secure. And lest
introltus esset notabilis celebritate et frequentia
his entrance be conspicuous on account of the crowd and throng
occurrentium, vitato officio amicorum, venit
of those meeting (him); avoiding the courtesy of friends, he came
noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium ut erat ita prae-
by night to the city, by night to the palace, as it was so or-
dered; que exceptus brevi osculo et nullo ser-
mone inmixtus est turbæ servientium. Ceterum uti
mark, he mingled in the band of courtiers. But to
temperaret aliis virtutibus militare nomen, grave
temper with other virtues military renown, annoying
inter otiosos, hausit penitus tranquillitatem
among peaceful (men), he carried as far as possible tranquillity
atque otium, modicus cultu, facilis sermone, comi-
and ease, simple in his dress, courteous in his talk, accom-
tatus uno aut altero amicorum, adeo uti plerique,
panied by one or two of his friends, so that many,
quibus mos est aestimare magnos viros per ambiti-
whose custom it is to judge great men by outward
onem, viso que aspectu Agricola, quaerent
show, after seeing and viewing Agricola, asked the secret of
famam, pauci interpretarentur. 41. Crebro per eos
his fame, few explained it. Often during those

dies, absens, accusatus apud Domitianum, absens, ab-
 days, absent, he was accused before Domitian, absent, was
 solutus est. Causa periculi non ullum crimen aut
 acquitted. The cause of his danger was not any crime or
 querela cuiusquam laesi, sed princeps infensus virtu-
 complaint of any injury, but an emperor hostile to vir-
 tibus et gloria viri ac pessimum genus inimicorum—
 tues and the glory of the man and the worst kind of enemies—
 laudantes. Et ea tempora insecuta sunt rei
 men who praise. And then such times followed for the re-
 publicae quae non sinerent Agricola melli;
 public as would not allow Agricola to be suppressed; times
 tot exercitus amissi in Moesia quae Dacia et Ger-
 when so many armies were lost in Moesia and Dacia and Ger-
 mania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam
 many and Pannonia by rashness or through cowardice of
 ducum, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus
 generals, so many martial men with so many cohorts were
 expugnati et capti; iam nec dubitatum de
 besieged and taken; now it was not questioned concerning the
 limite imperii et ripa sed de
 limit of the empire and the bank (of a river) but concerning the
 hibernis legionum et possessione. Ita
 winter quarters of our legions and the possession of territory. Thus
 cum damna continuarentur damnis atque omnis annus
 when losses were continued by losses and the entire year
 insigniretur funeribus et cladibus, Agricola poscebatur
 was marked by ruin(s) and defeat(s), Agricola was demanded
 dux ore vulgi, cunctis comparantibus vigorem
 as leader by the voice of the people, all comparing his vigor
 et constantiam et animum expertum bellis cum inertia
 and perseverance and mind, skilled in war, with the inactivity
 et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat
 and fear of others. By these remarks it is agreed that
 aures Domitiani quoque verberatas, dum quisque optimus
 the ears of Domitian, too, were assailed, while every best (man)
 libertorum amore et fide, pessimi maligni-
 of the freedmen through love and loyalty, the worst men through envy
 tate et livore exstimulabant principem pronom deteriori-
 and majesty, goaded on an emperor inclined to worse things,
 bus. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus simul
 So Agricola both by his own good traits and by the
 vitis aliorum agebatur praeceps in ipsam gloriam.
 vices of others was hurled headlong to the very height of glory.
 Annus iam aderat quo proconsulatus Africae et
 The year now arrived in which the proconsulate of Africa and
 Asiae sortiretur, et Civica nuper occiso, nec con-
 of Asia was allotted, and Civica lately being slain, neither a warn-
 silium deerat Agricolae nec exemplum Domitiano. Qui-
 ing was lacking to Agricola nor a precedent to Domitian. Some

dam, periti cogitationum principis, accessere, ultro
 experts of the plans of the emperor, came voluntarily
 qui interrogarent Agricolam ne iturus esset in pro-
 "to ask Agricola whether he would go to the
 vinciam. Ac primo laudare occultius quietum et
 province. And at first they praised secretly the quiet and
 otium mox offerre suam operam in adpro-
 ease (offered), soon they offered their service to obtain ap-
 banda excusatione, postremo iam non obscuri, simul
 proval- for his excuse, at last, now not disguised, both
 suadentes que terrentes, pertraxere ad Domiti-
 persuading and threatening (him), they influenced him to go to Domi-
 anum. Qui, paratus simulatione, compositus in adro-
 jan. He, prepared with simulation, fixed in his arro-
 gantiam et auduit preces excusantis et cum
 gance both heard the prayers of him excusing (himself) and when
 adnuisset, passus est gratias agi sibi nec
 he had nodded, assent, allowed thanks to be given to himself nor
 erubuit invidia benefici. Tamen non dedit
 felt ashamed from the unpopularity of the favor. Yet he did not give
 proconsulare salarium solitum offerri, et concessum quibus-
 the proconsular salary usually offered, and granted to some
 dam a se ipso, offensus sive non peti-
 by him himself, offended either, because it was not
 tum sive ex conscientia ne videretur
 sought or from a conscientious warning lest he seem
 emissee quod vetuerat. Est proprium humani
 to have bought what he had refused. It is characteristic of human
 ingenii odisse quem laeseris. Vero natura Domi-
 nature to hate whom you have injured. But the nature of Domi-
 tiani praeceptis in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevo-
 tian inclined to wrath, and the more unknown, the more implac-
 cabillior, tamen leniebatur moderatione que pru-
 able he was yet was softened by the moderation and the pru-
 dentia Agricolae quia non contumacia neque inani
 dence of Agricola, since neither by obstinancy nor empty
 lactatione libertatis provocabat fatum que famam.
 boasting of freedom he provoked his fate or fame. Let
 Sciant quibus moris est mirari, illicita,
 those know whose custom it is to admire lawlessness, that there
 posse esse magnos viros etiam sub malis principibus, que
 can be great men even under bad emperors, and
 obsequium ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint,
 that yielding and obedience, if activity and vigor be present,
 excedere eo laudis quo plerique inclaruerunt
 exceed that degree of praise by which many grow famous
 per abrupta, sed in nullum usum rei publicae—ambi-
 through dangers, but (for) no use to the republic—a
 tiosa morte. 43. Finis eius vitae, luctuosus nobis, tristis
 showy death. The end of his life, deplorable for us, sad

amicis, fuit non sine cura etiam extraneis que
 (to his friends, was not without care even to strangers and those

ignotis. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens
 who didn't know him. The common people even and this indifferent

populus et ventitavere ad domum et locuti sunt per
 people both called continually at his home and spoke of him in

fora et circulos; nec quisquam est aut laetatus aut statim
 public and private; no one was either glad or at once
 oblitus, morte Agricolae audita. Constans rumor
 forgetful, when the death of Agricola was learned. Constant rumor

augebat miserationem interceptum veneno;
 increased the sympathy that he was cut off by poison; there is

nihil comperti nobis ut ausim affirmare.
 nothing (of) certain known to (me) us that I would dare to confirm.

Ceterum per eius omnem valetudinem et primi liber-
 But during his whole illness both the leading freed-

torum et intimi medicorum venere crebrius quam ex
 men and intimate (of) doctors came oftener than is the

more principatus visentis per nuntios, sive
 custom of a court paying visits through messengers, whether

illud erat cura sive inquisitio. Quidem constabat
 this was care or espionage (I can't say). Indeed it was agreed

supremo die ipsa momenta deficientis nun-
 that on the last day the very movements of (him) failing were an-
 tiata per cursores dispositos, nullo cre-
 nounced by couriers placed at regular intervals, no one be-
 dente audiret tristis quae sic accelerari. Tamen tulit
 lieving he learned sadly things thus hastened. Yet he put
 prae se speciem doloris habitu que vultu, securus iam
 on the guise of grief in dress and countenance, free now

odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam
 of hatred, and he could more easily conceal his joy than

metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae
 fear It is agreed that on reading the will of Agricola

quo scripsit Domitianum coherdem optimae uxori
 in which he "wrote" Domitian as co-heir to his very good wife

et piissimae filiae, eum laetatum velut honore
 and most dutiful daughter, he was joyful as if through honor

que iudicio. Tam caeca et corrupta erat mens as-
 and good judgment. So blinded and perverted was his mind by con-

sidiis adulationibus ut nesciret non nisi malum
 stant flatteries that he did not know that none but a bad

principem scribi heredem a bono patre. 44. Agric-
 prince was made heir by a good father. Agricola

ola erat natus Idibus Iunilis Gaio Caesare con-
 was born on the ides of June (13th), Caius Caesar being con-

sule tertium; excessit quinquagesimo et quarto anno,
 sul the 3rd time; he died in his fifty (and) fourth year, on the

decumo Kalendas Septembris Collega que
 tenth day before the Calends of September (Aug. 23), Collega and

Prisco consulis. Quod si posterī quoque velint
 Priscus being consuls. But if posterity also should wish
 noscere eius habitum, fuit decentior quam sublimior;
 to know his appearance, it was more becoming than lofty;
 nihil metus in vultu; gratia supererat oris.
 no (of) fear in his face; a gracious look crowned his face.
 Facile crederes bonum virum, libenter mag-
 You easily would believe him a good man, willingly a great
 num. Et quidem ipse, quamquam ereptus in medio spatio
 one. But as for himself, although taken away in the midst
 integræ ætatis, quantum ad gloriam, peregit
 of a vigorous life, as far as pertains to glory he lived
 longissimum ævum; quippe vera bona et,
 the longest life (possible); even the true blessings, too,
 quæ sunt sita in virtutibus, impleverat et con-
 which are located in virtues, he had fully attained, and on one of
 sulari ac prædito triumphalibus ornamentis quid
 consular rank and possessed with triumphal ornaments what
 aliud poterat fortuna adstruere? Non gaudebat
 more could fortune bestow? He did not rejoice in too
 nimis opibus, speciosæ contigerant. Filia at-
 much wealth, respectable fortunes had been attained by him. His daugh-
 ter & wife surviving, he can be considered even fortunate—
 dignitate incolumi, fama florente, adfinitatibus
 while his glory was unsullied, his fame flourishing, his relatives
 et amicitis salvis, effugisse futura. Nam, sicut
 and friends safe, he escaped future (evils). For, though it was
 non licuit ei durare in hanc lucem beatissimi sæ-
 not allowed to him to last to this light (day) of a most happy age
 culi ac videre Traianum principem, quod ominabatur
 and to see Trajan as emperor, which was predicted in his
 augurio que votis apud nostras aures, ita tulit
 provisions and prayers (confided) to my ears, yet he enjoyed
 grande solacium festinatæ mortis, evasisse illud
 a great compensation for (of) an early death, that he evaded this
 postremum tempus quo Domitianus non iam per in-
 later time in which Domitian no longer through in-
 tervala ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et
 tervals and breathing spaces of times, but forthwith and
 velut uno ictu exhaustit rem publicam. Agricola non
 as if by one blow ruined the republic. Agricola did not
 vidit curiam obsessam et senatum clausum
 see the senate house besieged and the senate hummed in
 armis et tot consularium caedes eadem
 by armed men and so many of the consuls slain in the same mass-
 strage, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et
 acre, so many of the most noble women exiles and fu-
 ugas. Adhuc Carus Metius censebatur una victoria, et
 lives. As yet Carus Metius was rated by one victory, and

sententia Messalini strepebat intra Albanam arcem,
 the opinion of Messalius resounded within the Alban citadel,
 et Massa Baebius erat tum reus. Mox nostrae manus
 and Massa Baebius was then accused. Soon our hands
 duxere Helvidium in carcerem; nos visus Maurici que
 led Helvidius to prison; us the sight of Mauricus and
 Rustici, nos Senecio perfudit Innocenti san-
 Rusticus (dying), us Senecio dispirited with his innocent
 guine. Nero tamen subtraxit suos oculos que iussit
 blood. Nero nevertheless turned his eyes and ordered
 scelera, non spectavit; praecipua pars miseriarum
 the crimes, did not view them; the chief part of our miseries
 sub Domitiano erat videre et aspicere, cum nostra sus-
 under Domitian was to see and to be seen, both our
 pira subscriberentur, cum palloribus tot hominum
 sighs were being recorded, and the pallid looks of so many men
 denotandis, ille saevus vultus et rubor sufficeret
 being noted, that savage face and strength yielded (strength)
 quo muniebat se contra pudorem. Tu vero
 with which he fortified himself against shame. You, indeed, were for-
 felix, Agricola, non tantum claritate vitae sed etiam
 tunate, O Agricola, not only in the splendor of your life but even
 opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt
 in the opportuneness of your death. As they say who were present
 tuis novissimis sermonibus, constans et libens excepisti
 at your last talk, firm and cheerful you accepted
 fatum, tamquam donares innocentiam principi,
 your fate, as though you granted innocence to the emperor,
 pro virili portione. Sed praeter acerbitatem
 as far as was in your power. But, besides the bitterness of a
 erepti parentis, auget mihi que eius filiae maestiti-
 lost parent, it increases to me and his daughter our sor-
 tiam quod non contigit adsidere valetudini,
 row that it did not fall to our lot to attend him while ill, to
 fovere deficientem, satiari vultu que complexu. Certe
 comfort him failing, to be satisfied by his look and embrace. Certain-
 ly we should have received mandates and words which we would fix
 mus penitus animo. Hic noster dolor, nostrum vul-
 deep within our mind. This is our grief, our wound,
 nus, condicione tam longae absentiae amissus est
 that as a result of so long an absence he was lost
 nobis quadriennium ante. Sine dubio, optime paternum,
 to us 4 years before. Without doubt, oh, best of fathers,
 amantissima uxore adsidente, omnia superfuere tuo
 with a most loving wife attending, everything was (done) for your
 honori, tamen paucioribus lacrimis comploratus es, et in
 honor, yet with too few tears you were lamented, and in
 novissimis luce tui oculi desideravere aliquid. 46. Si
 your last days your eyes desired something. If there is

quis locus manibus piorum, si, ut placet sapientibus,
 any abode for the shades of the just, if, as it pleases the wise to
 believe, noble souls are not destroyed with the body,
 quiescas placide, que voces nos, tuam domum, ab in-
 rest thou peacefully, and call us, your family, from
 firmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem
 weak regrets and womanish weepings to the contemplation
 tuarum virtutum, quas est fas neque lugeri ne-
 of thy virtues, which it is the divine will neither to be deplored
 que plangi. Decoremus te potius admiratione,
 nor be lamented aloud. Let us honor thee rather with admiration,
 et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, simil-
 and with immortal praises and, if our nature avail (us), by resem-
 blance (to thee). Is verus honos, ea pietas cuiusque
 blance (to thee). This will be true esteem, that devotion of each
 coniunctissimi. Id quoque praeceperim filiae que
 nearest kind. This too I would enjoin upon daughter and
 uxori, sic memoriam patris, sic mariti
 wife, that thus the memory of father, thus the memory of husband
 venerari, ut revolvant secum omnia eius facta que
 be honored, that they revolve in their hearts all his deeds and
 dicta, complectantur formamque figuram ac animi
 words, that they cherish the spirit and manner too of his character
 magis quam corporis; non quia putem interce-
 rather than of his body; not because I should think that "it ought
 dendum imaginibus— quae
 to be prohibited to likenesses—that likenesses ought to be prohibited which
 finguntur marmore aut aere; sed, ut vultus hominum,
 are fashioned from marble or bronze; but, as the faces of men,
 ita simulacra vultus sunt imbecilla ac mortalia, forma
 so likenesses of the face are feeble and temporary, the spirit
 mentis aeterna, quam ipse possis tenere et ex-
 of the mind eternal, which you yourself are able to hold and to ex-
 primere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis
 press not in another material and art, but in your
 moribus. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati
 ways of life. Whatever of Agricola we loved, whatever we ad-
 sumus, manet, que mansurum est animis hominum, in ae-
 mired, remains and will remain in the minds of men, in eter-
 ternitate temporum famā rerum. Nam oblivio obruit
 nity of time in the report of events. For oblivion obscures
 multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis; Agricola
 many (of) ancients as if they were inglorious and ignoble; Agricola
 ola narratus et traditus posteritati erit superstes.
 narrated and related to posterity will survive.

GERMANIA

1. **Germania** omnis separatur a **Gallis** que **Rae-**
 Germany as a whole is separated from the Gauls and Rhaeti
ti et Pannoniis **Rheno et Danuvio** fluminibus, a **Sar-**
 and Pannonians by the Rhine and Danube rivers, from the
matibus que **Dacis** mutuo metu aut montibus; cetera
 Sarmati and Dacians by mutual fear or mountains; elsewhere the
Oceanus ambit, complectens latos **sinus et immensa**
 Ocean girds it, embracing broad peninsulas and large
spatia insularum, quibusdam gentibus et regibus nuper
 expanses of islands, certain tribes and kingdoms lately be-
cognitis quos bellum aperuit. **Rhenus**, ortus
 coming known there whom war disclosed. The Rhine, springing
inaccessio ac praecipiti vertice **Raeticarum Alpium**,
 from the inaccessible and precipitous summit of the Rhaetian Alps,
versus modico flexu in occidentem miscetur septen-
 turning with a gentle bend to the west is united with the
trionali Oceano. **Danuvius** effusus molli et clemen-
 northern Ocean. The Danube, pouring down from the gentle and slowly
ter edito iugo montis Abnoba, adit pluris populos
 rising slope of mount Abnoba, visits many nations
donec erumpat in Ponticum mare sex meatibus: septi-
 until it bursts forth into the Pontus by six mouths: the
mum os hauritur paludibus. 2. **Germanos ipsos**
 seventh mouth is swallowed up in swamps. The Germans themselves
crediderim indigenas que minime mixtos adventibus et
 I would consider indigenous and very little mixed with immigrants and
hospitiis, quia olim nec terra sed classibus adve-
 strangers, since formerly it was not by land but by ships those ar-
hebantur qui querebant mutare sedes, et ultra in-
 rived who sought to change locations, and besides the
mensus (que ut dixerim sic) **Oceanus** adversus
 boundless (and if I may say so)—so to speak—Ocean lying opposite (us)
aditur raris navibus ab nostro orbe. **Quis porro**,
 is entered by few ships from our world. Who, indeed,
praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, relicta Asia
 besides the danger of a rough and unknown sea, leaving Asia
aut Africa aut Italia, peteret Germaniam, informem
 or Africa or Italy, would travel to Germany, shapeless.

terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu que aspectu, nisi
 in land, rough in climate, sullen in manner and aspect, unless
 si sit patria? Celebrant antiquis carminibus, quod
 it were his fatherland? They celebrate by ancient songs, which
 est unum genus annalium et memoriae illis, Tuistonam
 is the only kind of history and of recording them, Tuisto
 deum editum terra, et filium Mannum, ^ originem que
 a god spring from the earth, and his son, Mannus, as the origin and
 conditores gentis. Adsignant tris filios Manno e quor-
 founders of their race. They assign three sons to Mannus, from
 um nominibus proximi Oceano vocentur Ingaevones,
 whose names those nearest the Ocean are called Ingaevones,
 medii Hermiones, ceteri Istaevones. Quidam,
 those in the interior Hermiones, the rest the Istaevones. Some,
 ut in licentia vetustatis, adfirmant pluris
 as is usual in the freedom of antiquity, say that many are
 artos deo que pleris appellationes
 sprung from the god, and that there are many names of the
 gentis—Marsos, Gambrivios, Suebos, Vandilios, que ea
 nation—Mariso, Gambrivii, Suevi, Vandilii, and that these
 vera et antiqua nomina.. Ceterum vocabulum Germaniae
 are true and ancient names. But the name of Germany
 recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi trans-
 is recent and lately added, since those who first (having)
 gressi Rhenum, expulerint Gallos, ac nunc Tun-
 crossed the Rhine, drove out the Gauls, and now are called Tun-
 gri, tunc sint vocati Germani. Ita nomen nationis non
 gri, then were called Germans. Thus the name of a tribe, not of a
 gentis paulatim evaluisse ut omnes vocarentur in-
 nation, gradually prevailed, so that all were called by the in-
 vento nomine Germani, primum a victore ob
 vented name of German, first (used) by a conqueror to inspire
 metum, mox etiam a se ipsis. §. Memorant
 fear, soon adopted even by them themselves. They say that
 Herculem et fuisse apud eos qui ituri in
 Hercules too was with them (once) and they, about to go into
 proelia canunt primum omnium fortium virorum. Illis
 battles sing of him first of all brave heroes. "They
 sunt haec carmina quoque relatu quorum,—quem
 have" those songs also by the recital of which,—which recital
 vocant barditum,—accendunt animos que ipso cantu
 they call barditus,—they rouse their courage and by the very singing
 augurantur fortunam futurae pugnae. Enim prout
 they predict the fortune of the future battle. For just as the
 acies sonuit terrent ve trepidant. Ille vocis nec
 line sings they are alarmed or cause alarm. That of the voice is not
 videtur tam quam concentus virtutis. Asperitas soni
 considered so much as the concord of valor. Harshness of sound
 praecipue adfectatur et fractum murmur, obiectis
 is especially aimed at and reverberating murmur, by putting their

scutis ad os quo plenior et gravior vox intumescat
 shields to the mouth the fuller and deeper the voice grows
 repercussu. Ceterum quidam opinantur et Ulixem, illo
 by the echo. But some think too that Ulysses, in that
 longo et fabuloso errore delatum in hunc Oceanum
 long and fabulous wandering, borne into that Ocean,
 adisse terras Germaniae, que Asciburgium constitu-
 visited the lands of Germany, and that Asciburgium was founded
 tum que nominatum ab illo, quod situm in ripa
 and named by him, which is situated on the banks of the
 Rheni que incolitur hodie; quin etiam aram
 Rhine and inhabited today; nay more, they even say that an altar
 consecratam Ulixi, nomine adlecto patris Laertae,
 consecrated to Ulysses, the name being added of his father Laertes,
 olim repertam eodem loco, que monumenta et
 formerly was found in the same place, and that monuments and
 quosdam tumulos inscriptos Graecis litteris adhuc ex-
 certain mounds inscribed with Greek letters still ex-
 tare in confinio Germaniae que Raetiae. Est in animo
 ist on the border of Germany and Rhaetia. It is in my mind
 neque confirmare quae argumentis neque refel-
 (my purpose) neither to confirm these by proofs nor to deny
 lere; quisque ex suo ingenio demat vel ad-
 them; let everyone according to his own nature "lessen" or in-
 dat fidem. 4. Ipse accedo opinioni eorum qui
 crease his belief (of them). I myself yield to the belief of those who
 arbitrantur populos Germaniae infectos nullis aliis conu-
 think that the people of Germany, mixed by no other mar-
 bilis aliarum nationum, gentem extitisse propriam et
 riages of other nations, that the race appeared peculiar and
 sinceram et similem tantum sui. Unde quoque habitus
 unmixed and like only to itself. Hence too the appearance
 corporum, quamquam in tanto numero hominum, idem
 of their bodies, although in so great a number of men, is the same
 omnibus, truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna
 to all; fierce and blue eyes, tawny hair, large
 corpora, et valida tantum ad impetum; non eadem pa-
 bodies and suitable only for sudden attack; there is not the same
 tientia laboris atque operum; tolerare situm que aestum
 endurance of labor and toil(s), they endure thirst and heat
 minimeque, adsueverunt frigora atque inedia caelo ve-
 very little, they are accustomed to cold(s) and hunger by the climate and
 solo. 5. Terra etsi differt aliquanto specie, tamen in
 soil. The land, though it differs somewhat in appearance, yet as
 universum aut horrida silvis aut foeda paludibus, umid-
 a whole either is rough with forests or is foul from swamps, more
 for qua aspicit Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac
 rainy where it faces Gaul, more windy where it faces Noricum and
 Pannoniam; ferax satis, impatiens frugiferarum ar-
 Pannonia; fertile for stating corn, intolerant of fruit-bearing.

borum, fecunda pecorum, sed plerumque improcera.
 trees, productive of flocks, but they are generally small-sized.
 Ne quidem armentis suus honor aut gloria frontis;
 Not even in cattle is there the usual beauty or grace of the head;
 gaudent numero, quæ eae sunt solae et gratissimæ opes.
 they rejoice in number, and these are the only and most pleasing riches.

Di, dubito ne propitii an irati, negaverint argen-
 The gods, I doubt whether propitious or wrathful, denied them sil-
 tum et aurum. Tamen nec adfirmaverim nullam venam
 ver and gold. However, I would not affirm that no vein
 Germaniæ gignere argentum ve aurum; enim quis scruta-
 of German soil produces silver or gold; for who has
 tus est? Adficiuntur haud perinde possessione et usu.
 searched it? They are impressed not equally by the possession and use. It

Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, data muneri
 is possible to see among them silver vessels, given as a gift to
 legatis et principibus eorum, in non alia vilitate quam
 envoys and chieftains of them, (held) in no other cheapness than
 quæ finguntur humo; quamquam proximi ob
 those made from clay; however, those nearest (us), on account of
 usum commerciorum habent in pretio aurum et argentum
 the use of commerce, value in exchange gold and silver
 que agnoscunt atque eligunt quasdam formas nostræ pe-
 and recognize and prefer certain forms of our
 cuniae; interiores simplicius et antiquius utuntur permu-
 money; those inland more open(ly) and ancient(ly) use barter
 tatione mercium. Probant veterem et diu notam pecuniam,
 of goods. They like the old and long known money, coins

serratos que bigatos. Sequuntur argentum
 milled and bearing the figure of a 2-horse car. They adopt silver
 quoque magis quam aurum, nulla adfectione animi, sed
 too rather than gold, by no partiality of mind, but be-
 quia numerus argenteorum est facillior usui mercan-
 cause a number of silver pieces is more convenient for use among trad-
 tibus promiscua ac vilia. 6. Ne quidem ferrum super-
 ers in common and cheap (things). Not even iron is abun-
 est, sicut colligitur ex genere telorum. Rari
 dant, as would be inferred from the class of their weapons. Few
 utuntur gladiis aut maioribus lanceis: gerunt hastas vel
 use swords or longer lances: they carry spears or
 frameas vocabulo ipsorum, angusto et brevi ferro;
 frameas, in the language of themselves, with a narrow and short point;
 sed ita acri et habili ad usum, ut eodem telo, prout
 but so sharp and convenient for use, that with the same weapon, as
 ratio poscit, pugnent vel comminus vel eminus; et
 occasion demands, they fight either hand-to-hand or far off; and
 quidem eques est contentus scuto que framea;
 even a cavalryman is content with a shield and framea:

pedites spargunt missilia et, singuli pluraque
 the infantry scatter missiles too, (they) each (have) several

atque vibrant in immensum, nudi aut leves
 and hurl them very far, lightly clad or not heavy with a
 sagulo. Nulla lactatio cultus, distinguunt scuta
 cloak. No display of equipment; they distinguish their shields
 tantum lectissimis coloribus. Paucis loricae vix
 only with very choice colors. To few corselets are given scarcely
 cassis aut galea uni ve alteri.
 a metal helmet or leather helmet to one or two here and there.
 Equi conspicui non forma non velocitate. Sed
 Their steeds are conspicuous neither in beauty nor in speed. But
 nec docentur variare gyros in nostrum morem;
 they are not taught to vary their courses like our custom;
 agunt in rectum aut uno flexu dextros, ita,
 they drive them straight ahead or by one turn to the right, so,
 orbe conjuncto ut nemo sit posterior In universum,
 the body being compact, that no one is left behind. On the whole,
 aestimanti plus roboris penes peditem, quæ
 to one considering, more of their strength lies in the infantry, and com-
 mixti eo proeliantur, velocitate peditum apta
 bined with this they fight, the fleetness of infantry being fitted
 et congruente ad equestrem pugnam, locant quos delectos
 and suitable for a cavalry battle, they place those chosen
 ex omni iuventute ante aciem. Numerus et definitur;
 from the entire youth before the line. The number too is defined;
 centeni sunt ex singulis pagis, quæ vocantur id ipsum;
 190 are from single cantons, and they are called this itself;
 inter suos et quod primo fuit numerus iam est nomen
 among their people, and what at first was a number, now is a name
 et honor. Acies componitur per cuneos. Cedere
 and distinction. The line is formed in wedge-shape. To retire
 loco, dummodo intes rursus, arbitrantur con-
 from a place, provided you return again, they consider (of) pru-
 dentiam quam formidinis. Referunt corpora suorum
 dence rather than (of) cowardice. They carry off the bodies of their slain
 etiam in dubiis proeliis. Reliquiasc scutum præcipuum
 even in doubtful battles. To have left one's shield is an especial
 flagitium, nec fas ignominioso aut adesse sacris
 disgrace, nor is it right for one disgraced thus either to attend sacred
 aut intire concilium; quæ multi superstites bellorum
 rites or to go to a council; and many survivors of battles
 finierunt infamiam laqueo. 7. Sumunt reges ex
 have ended their infamy by a noose. They choose kings according to
 nobilitate, duces ex virtute. Potestas reg-
 their nobility, leaders according to valor. Power (conferred) on the
 ibus nec infinita aut libera, et duces exemplo
 kings is not unlimited or arbitrary, and generals excel by example
 potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si agant
 rather than by authority, if active, if conspicuous, if they lead
 ante aciem præsunt admiratione. Ceterum per-
 before the line they command through admiration. But it is per-

missum neque animadvertere, neque vincere, ne quidem
 mitted neither to punish, nor to imprison, not even
 verberare nisi sacerdotibus, non quasi in poenam,
 to beat except to the priests, and not then as for punishment,
 nec iussu ducis, sed velut deo imperante, quem
 nor by order of a leader, but as if the god (were) ordering it, whom
 credunt adesse bellantibus. Que ferunt in proelium
 they think present with warriors. And they carry into battle
 effigies et quaedam signa detracta lucis; que quod
 effigies and certain images taken from the groves; and what
 est praeceptum incitamentum fortitudinis non casus
 is a special stimulus of bravery is that neither chance
 nec fortuita conglobatio facit turmam aut cuneum,
 nor accidental gathering makes up their squadron or battalion,
 sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora,
 but families and relatives; and close by are their dear ones,
 unde ululatus feminarum audiri, unde vagitus infantum.
 whence the shrieks of the women are heard, whence the cries of infants.
 Hi sanctissimi testes cuique, hi maximi lau-
 These are the most sacred witnesses for each, these the greatest ap-
 dadores; ferunt vulnera ad matres, ad coniuges;
 plunders; they bear their wounds to their mothers, to their wives;
 nec pavent numerare aut exigere plagas; que
 nor are they afraid to count or examine the wounds, and
 gestant cibos et hortamina pugnantis. 8. Proditur
 they carry food and encouragement(s) to the fighters. It is related
 memoriae quasdam acies inclinat et iam la-
 by tradition that certain battle lines, wavering and already giv-
 bantes restitutas a feminis constantia precum et
 ing way have been restored by women, by the constancy of their pleas and
 oblectu pectorum et monstrata captivitate comminus,
 laying bare of their bosoms and by showing captivity close at hand,
 quam timent longe impatientius nomine suarum femi-
 which they fear so dreadfully on behalf of their women,
 narum, adeo ut animi civitatum quibus puellae
 that the minds of the states from (to) which maidens
 quoque nobiles imperantur inter obsides, obli-
 even of noble rank are demanded among the hostages, are bound
 gentur efficacius. Quin etiam putant inesse ali-
 together more effectually. Nay they even think there is some-
 quid sanctum et providum, aspernantur nec aut
 thing sacred and prescient (in women), they disdain neither
 earum consilia aut neglegunt responsa. Vidimus sub
 their counsels nor neglect their responses. We saw under
 divo Vespasiano Veleam diu habitum among pleros-
 died Vespasian that Velea was long held among many
 que loco numinis; sed et olim ven-
 in the place of a divinity (considered a divinity); even formerly they
 erati sunt Albrunam et compluris alias non adu-
 venerated Albruna and many other (women) not with adu-

latione, nec facerant tamquam deas. 9. Deorum
 lation nor represent them as if goddesses. Of gods they
 colunt Mercurium maxime, cui habent fas litare
 worship Mercury chiefly, to whom they consider it right to sacrifice
 quoque humanis hostiis certis diebus. Placunt Her-
 even with human victims on fixed days. They appease Her-
 culem ac Martem concessis animalibus. Pars Sueborum
 cules and Mars with lawful offerings Some of the Suevi
 et sacrificat Isidi. Unde causa et origo perigrino
 also sacrifice to Isis. Whence the cause and origin for this foreign
 sacro, comperi parum, nisi quod signum ipsum, fig-
 rite, I have learned too little, except that the image itself, fash-
 uratem in modum liburnae, docet advectam religio-
 ioned into the form of a light galley, indicates an imported worship.
 nem. Ceterum, arbitrantur nec ex magnitudine
 However, they think it not in conformity with the grandeur
 caelestium cohibere deos parietibus neque adsimulare in
 of celestials to confine gods in walls or to liken them to
 ullam speciem humanioris; consecrant lucos et nemora
 any form of the human face: they consecrate the groves and woods
 que appellant nominibus deorum illud secretum quod vident
 and call by the names of gods that abstraction which they see
 reverentia sola. 10. Observant auspicia que sortes ut
 by reverence alone They observe the auspices and lots as much as
 qui maxime consuetudo sortium simplex.
 those who do so the most the custom of their lots is simple
 Virgam decisam frugiferae arbori. amputant in surcu-
 A twig cut off of a fruit-bearing tree they cut into small
 los que eos. discretos quibusdam notis, spargunt
 pieces and these, distinguished by certain marks, they scatter
 temere ac fortuito super candidam vestem. Mox, si con-
 carelessly and at random over a white garment Then, if it is
 sultetur publice, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, pater
 consulted publicly, the priest of the state, if privately, the father
 familiae ipse, precatus deos que suspiciens caelum
 of the family himself, invoking the gods and looking at the sky,
 tollit singulos ter, interpretatur sublato secundum
 lifts each piece 3 times, interprets them raised up according to
 notam impressam ante. Si prohibuerunt, nulla
 the mark stamped before. If they are unfavorable, there is no other
 consultatio de eadem re in eundem diem, sin per-
 consultation anent the same thing on the same day, but if it is
 missum, adhuc fides auspiorum exigitur. Et etiam
 favorable, still a fulfilment of the auspices is required. And even
 hic quidem illud notum,—interrogare voces que vola-
 this too is further known,—they consult the notes and flights
 tus avium; proprium gentis experiri praesagia ac
 of birds; it is characteristic of the people to test omens and
 monitus equorum quoque. Aluntur publice isdem
 monitions of horses, too. They are fed at public expense in the same

nemoribus as lucis, candidi et contacti nullo mortali operi;
groves and forests, white and defiled by no earthly work;
sacerdos ac rex vel principes civitates comitantur quos
a priest and king or the chief of the state attend them
pressos sacro curru, que observant hinnitus ac
yoked to a sacred chariot, and note their whinnies and
fremitus. Nec maior fides ulli auspicio, non
snortings. There is no greater trust in any other augury, not
solum apud plebem, sed apud procures, apud sacerdotes,
only among the people, but among the nobles, among the priests,
putant se ministros deorum, illos con-
who think themselves ministers of the gods, and them (horses) con-
sacros. Est et alia observatio auspicio, *sacros*
scious of their will. There is also another observation of the auspices,
qua explorant eventus gravium bellorum.
by which they seek to discover the results of important wars. Of
Eius gentis cum qua est bellum, committunt captivum,
that race with which there is war they put a captive,
interceptum quoquo modo, cum electo suorum
taken by whatever manner (he is), with a chosen man of their
popularium, quemque patriis armis; victoria huius
people, each with his native arms; the victory of this one
vel illius accipitur pro praeludico. 11. Principes
or that one is accepted for the previous decision. The chiefs
consultant de minoribus rebus, omnes de maioribus, tamen
deliberate about minor affairs, all about greater affairs, yet
ita ut ea quoque, quarum arbitrium est penes plebem,
it is so that those things too, of which the decision rests with the people,
praetractantur apud principes: Cœunt, nisi quid
are discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except when some-
fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum
thing unexpected and sudden happens, on certain days, when the
luna aut incohatur aut impletur; nam credunt hoc
moon is either new or full; for they believe this the
auspicatissimum initium agendis rebus. Nec compu-
most auspicious beginning for doing things. Nor do they com-
tant numerum dierum, ut nos, sed noctium. Sic
pute the number of days, as we do, but of the nights. Thus they
constituunt, sic condicunt: nox videtur ducere diem,
make appointments, thus they promise: night seems to precede day.
Illud vitium ex libertate, quod non conveni-
There is this advantage from their freedom, that they do not convene
unt simul nec ut iussi, sed et alter et tertius dies
altogether nor as ordered, but even two or three days
absumentur cunctatione coeuntium. Ut turba placuit
are (is) consumed in the delay of assembly. When the throng approved
considunt armati. Silentium imperatur per sacerdotes,
they sit down armed. Silence is ordered by the priests,
quibus est ius tum et coercendi. Mox rex vel
who have the right at such a time of keeping order. Then the king or

princeps, prout est aetas cuique, prout nobilitas,
 chief, according to the age of (to) each, according to his birth, accord-
prout decus bellorum, prout facundia, audiuntur,
 ing to his glory in (of) wars, according to his eloquence, is (are) heard, be-

auctoritate suadendi magis quam potestate iubendi,
 cause of his influence to persuade rather than his power to command.

Si sententia displicuit, aspernantur fremitu; sin
 If his sentiment displeases, they reject with a murmur; but if it is

placuit, concutiunt frameas. Honoratissimum genus
 approved, the strike together their frameas. The most honored kind

adsensus est laudare armis. 12. Licet accusare
 of assent is to approve with arms. It is allowed to accuse one

apud concilium quoque et intendere discrimen capitis.
 at the council also and to prosecute the crime of capital

Distinctio poenarum ex delicto.
 punishment. The distinction of punishments is according to the offence.

Suspendunt proditores et transfugas arboribus. Mergunt
 They hang traitors and deserters to trees. They sink

ignavos et imbelles et infames corpore, caeno ac
 cowards and the unwarlike and men infamous in body, in mud and

palude, crate iniecta insuper. Diversitas sup-
 (of) a swamp, a hurdle being placed over them. The diversity of pun-

plici respicit illuc, tamquam scelera oporteat os-
 ishment looks to the end that, although crimes ought to be ex-

tendi, dum puniuntur, flagitia . . . abscondi. Sed et
 posed, while they are punished, infamies: ought to be hidden. Even

poena levioribus delictis . . . pro . . . modo.
 the punishment for lighter crimes is according to the degree of crime,

Convicti multantur, numero equorum quæ pecorum. Pars
 Those convicted are fined a number of horses and cattle. Half

multae exsolvitur regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vin-
 of the fine is paid to the king or state, half to him who is

dicatur vel propinquis eius. Principes et eliguntur in
 avenged, or to relatives of him. Magistrates too are chosen in the

isdem conciliis, qui reddunt iura per pagos quæ vicos.
 same councils, who administer laws in the cantons and towns. There

Centeni comites singulis ex plebe consilium et
 are 100 associates of each chosen from the people whose advice and

auctoritas simul adsunt. 13. Agunt nihil autem neque
 authority both assist (them). They do nothing either

publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati. Sed non
 of public or of private interest unless armed. But it is not (of)

moris cuique sumere arma ante quam civitas probaverit
 a custom for anyone to wear arms before the state has declared him

suffecturum. Tum in concilio ipso vel aliquis
 capable of bearing arms. Then in the council itself either one

principum vel pater vel propinqui ornant iuvenem
 of the chiefs or his father or his relatives equip the youth with a

scuto quæ framea. Haec toga apud illos, hic primus
 shield and a framea. These are the toga with them, this the first

honor of the youth; before this they are considered a part of the home,
 mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna merita
 later of the republic. Noted high birth or great services of
 patrum adsignant etiam dignationem principis adulescen-
 fathers a-sign even the rank of a chief to the youths;
 tulit; adgregantur ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem
 they are attached to other men of more maturity and long
 probatis, nec rubor adspici inter comites. Quin
 approved (valor), nor is it a shame to be seen in (their) followers. Nay
 etiam comitatus ipse habet gradus iudicio
 even the retinue itself has degrees of rank according to the judgment
 eius quem sectantur; que et magna aemulatio
 of him whom they follow; and there is also great rivalry of the
 comitum, quibus primus locus apud suum principem
 followers, as to whom first place with his own chief "shall be,"
 et principum cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec
 and of the chiefs as to which one the most and bravest followers. This
 dignitas, hae vires, circumdari semper magno globo
 is honor, these are strength, to be surrounded always by a large band
 electorum iuvenum, decus in pace, praesidium in bello.
 of picked youths, an honor in peace, a defense in war.
 Nec solum id nomen cuique in sua gente sed apud finiti-
 Not only is this prestige for each in his tribe but among neigh-
 mas civitates quoque, ea est gloria, si comitatus em-
 boring states also, this is an honor if his retinue is em-
 ineat numero ac virtute; enim expetuntur legationibus et
 inent in number and valor, for they are sought by embassies and
 ornantur muneribus et plerumque profigant bella ipsa
 adorned with gifts and generally they overcome war by the very
 fama.
 14. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe prin-
 prestige of their name. When they (it) comes to battle, it is base for a
 cipi vinci virtute, turpe comitatus non adaequare vir-
 chief to be excelled in valor, base for his retinue not to equal the
 tutem principis Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac
 valor of its chief Moreover, it is infamous for all life and
 probrosum recessisse ex acie superstitem suo prin-
 a reproach for one to have returned from battle a survivor of his
 cipi. Defendere illum, tueri, adsignare quoque sua
 chief To defend him, to protect him, to assign even one's own
 fortia facta eius gloriae est praecipuum sacramentum.
 brave deeds to his glory is a special pledge of loyalty.
 Principes pugnant pro victoria, comites pro principe. Si
 Chiefs fight for victory, retainues for the chief. If
 civitas in qua sunt orti torpeat longa pace et
 the state in which they were born becomes torpid by long peace and
 otio, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas
 ease, many of the noble youth seek voluntarily those
 nationes quae tum gerunt aliquod bellum, et quia quies
 tribes which then are waging some war, both because quiet

ingrata genti et clarescunt facilius inter ancipitia que
 is hateful to the race and they grow famous more easily amid perils and
 non tuare magnum comitatum nisi vi que bello;
 cannot maintain a large retinue except by violence and war;
 enim exigunt a liberalitate sui principis illum bella-
 for they exact from the liberality of their chief that warlike
 torem equum, illam cruentam que victricem frameam. Nam
 horse, that bloody and conquering framea. For
 et epulae, quamquam incompti, tamen largi apparatus
 even feasts, though inelegant, and large displays
 cedunt pro stipendio. Materia munificentiae per
 take the place of a salary. The source of this munificence is through
 bella et raptus. Nec persuaseris tam facile arare
 wars and rapine. Nor would you persuade them so easily to plow
 terram aut expectare annum quam vocare hostem et
 the land or to await the harvest as to challenge an enemy and
 mereri vulnera. Quin immo videtur pigrum et iners
 merit wounds. Nay indeed it is considered stupid and inactive
 adquirere sudore quod possis parare sanguine. 15.
 to acquire by sweat what you can obtain by bloodshed.
 Quotiens non ineunt bella, transigunt non multum
 Whenever they are not entering on wars, they pass not much time
 venatibus, plus per otium, dediti somno que cibo, quisque
 in the chase, more in repose, given over to sleep and food every
 fortissimus ac bellicosissimus agens nihil, cura
 bravest and most warlike man doing nothing, the care of the
 domus et penatium et agrorum delegata feminis que
 household and home and fields being delegated to women and
 senibus et cuique infirmissimo ex familia, ipsi hebent,
 old men, and to each weakest one of the family, they are sluggish,
 mira diversitate naturae cum idem homines sic
 by a strange diversity of their nature, since the same men thus
 ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Est mos civitatibus
 love inactivity, yet hate peace. It is the custom for the states
 ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armen-
 voluntarily and individually to confer on the chiefs (a gift) either of cat-
 torum vel frugum, quod acceptum pro honore, etiam sub-
 tile or grain, which is accepted as a compliment, yet sup-
 venit necessitatibus. Gaudent praecipue donis finiti-
 plies their needs. They are delighted especially by gifts of neigh-
 marum gentium quae mittuntur non modo a singulis sed
 boring tribes which are sent not only by individuals but
 et publice,—electi equi, magna arma, phalerae que tor-
 also by the state,—chosen horses, heavy armor, breast plates and neck-
 ques; iam docuimus accipere pecuniam et. 16. Est
 aces; now we have taught them to accept money also. It is
 satis notum nullas urbes habitari populis Germanorum,
 well known that no cities are inhabited by the people of Germany,
 functas sedes ne quidem pati inter se. Colunt
~~connected dwellings~~ ~~are not even allowed~~ among them. They dwell

discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus
 scattered and apart, just as a spring, as a meadow, as a grove has
 placuit. Locant vicos non in nostrum morem
 pleased them. They arrange their villages not in our fashion with
 aedificiis conexas et cohaerentibus; quisque circumdat
 the buildings connecting and adjoining; everyone surrounds
 suam domum spatio sive remedium adversus
 his house with an open space, whether a remedy against the dis-
 casus ignis sive incertitia aedificandi. Ne
 asters of fire or ignorance of building (I can't say). There is not
 quidem usus caementorum aut tegularum apud illos, utun-
 even the use of stones or tile among them: they
 tur materia ad omnia, informi et citra speciem aut de-
 use timber for everything, rough and without form or
 lectionem. Inlinunt quaedam loca diligentius terra ita
 adornment. They bedaub some parts more carefully with clay to
 pura ac splendente ut imitatur picturam ac liniamenta
 pure and bright that it imitates the picture and outlines
 colorum. Solent et aperire subterraneos specus que
 of colors. They are wont also to dig subterranean caves and they
 onerant eos insuper multo fimo suffugium hiemis et
 cover them over with much dung, a refuge for (of) winter and
 receptaculum frugibus, quia molliunt rigorem frigorum
 a receptacle for grains, since they soften the rigor of colds
 locis eius modi, et si quando hostis advenit, populatur
 by places of this kind, and if ever an enemy arrives, he devastates
 aperta, abdita autem et defossa ignorantur aut fal-
 open places, those hid or even covered are unknown or es-
 cunt ipso eo quod quaerenda sunt. 17. Tegu-
 cape by the very fact that they have to be sought. The cover-
 men omnibus sagum, consertum fibula aut si desit,
 ing for all is a cloak fastened by a clasp or if this is lacking,
 spina: cetera intecti agunt totos dies iuxta
 by a thorn: otherwise bare, they spend whole days together
 focum atque ignem. Locupletissimi distinguuntur
 by the hearth and fire. The wealthiest are distinguished by a
 veste, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et
 garment, not flowing, as the Sarmatae and Parthi, but tight and
 exprimente singulos artos. Gerunt et pelles ferarum,
 showing each limb. They wear also the skins of wild beasts,
 proximi ripae neglegente, posteriores ex-
 those nearest to the bank of the Rhine dress carelessly, those inland
 quisitius, ut quibus nullus cultus per commercia
 more elegantly, as "they have" no other dress by means of trade.
 Eligunt feras et spargunt detracta velamina
 They pick out wild beasts and vary the torn-off hides with
 maculis pellibusque beluarum quas exterior Oceanus atque
 spotted skins of monsters which the outer Ocean and
 ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius habitus feminis
 unknown sea produce. There is no different dress for women

quam viris, nisi quod feminae saepius velantur lineis
 than for men, except that the women generally are wrapped with linen
 amictibus que variant eos purpura, que non extend-
 garments and they vary them with purple, and they do not extend
 unt partem superioris vestitutis in manicas, nudae
 the part of the upper garment to their gloves, bare in lower
 brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris
 arms and upper arms; even the nearest part of the bosom
 patet. 18. Quamquam matrimonia illic severa, lauda-
 lies bare. However, marriage there is strict, you would
 veris nec ullam partem morum magis. Nam prope
 praise no other part of their customs more. For almost
 soli barbarorum contenti sunt singulis uxoribus, admo-
 alone of barbarians they are content with one wife, only
 dum paucis exceptis, qui non libidine sed ob
 a few being excepted, who, not from sensuality but on account of
 nobilitatem ambiuntur plurimis nuptiis. Uxor non
 noble birth are sought by many marriages. The wife does not
 offert dotem marito sed maritus uxori. Parentes
 bring a dowry to the husband but the husband to the wife. The parents
 et propinqui intersunt ac probant munera, munera non
 and relatives are present and approve of the gifts, gifts not
 quaesita ad muliebres delicias nec quibus nova nupta
 devised for womanish tastes nor with which a bride
 comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum
 is adorned, but oxen and a caparisoned steed and a shield with
 framea que gladio. In haec munera uxor accipitur atque
 a framea and a sword. With these gifts a wife is accepted and
 in vicem ipsa adfert viro aliquid armorum; arbitran-
 in turn she brings her husband some (of) arms; they consider
 tur hoc maximum vinculum, haec sacra arcana, hos
 this the strongest bond, these sacred secrets, these their
 coniugales deos. Ne mulier putet se extra cogita-
 marriage gods. Lest a woman consider herself beyond the
 tiones virtutum que extra casus bellorum admon-
 plans of valor and beyond the disasters of wars, she is admon-
 etur ipsi incipientis auspicii matrimonii se venire
 ished by the very inaugurating auspices of marriage that she comes
 sociam laborum que periculorum, passuram que ausu-
 as an ally of toils and dangers, to suffer and dare
 tam idem in pace, idem in proelio. Hoc functi boves,
 the same in peace, the same in war. This the yoked oxen,
 hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant; sic
 this the harnessed steed, this the presented arms proclaim; thus she
 vivendum, sic pereundum; se accipere quae
 (it) must (be) live(d), thus "she must die;" she is to receive that which
 reddat inviolata ac digna, liberis, quae
 she must pass on inviolate and deserving, to her children, which her
 nurus accipiant que rursus referantur ad
 daughters-in-law must receive and again be passed on to her

nepotes. 19. **Ergo agunt** **saepta pudicitia, corruptae**
 grandchildren. Thus they live with guarded chastity, corrupted
nullis inlecebris spectaculorum, nullis irritationibus con-
 by no allurements of public shows, by no incitements of ban-
vivorum. Viri ac feminae pariter ignorant secreta li-
 quets. Men and women alike know not the secrets
terarum. **Adulteria paucissima in tam**
 of letters (clandestine correspondence). Adultery is very rare in so
numerosa gente, poena quorum praesens et
 numerous a people, the punishment of which is prompt and gi-
permissa maritis; cripibus abscisis maritus expellit
 en over to husbands. with her hair cut off, the husband expels
nudatam domo coram propinquis ac agit verbere
 her naked from the house before her relatives & drives her with a whip
per omnem vicum. Enim nulla venia publi-
 through the entire village. For there is no leniency for prosti-
catas pudicitiae; invenerit maritum non forma
 tuted chastity; she will find a husband neither by beauty
non aetate non opibus. Enim nemo ridet vitia illic, nec
 nor youth nor by wealth. For no one laughs at vices there, nor
vocatur saeculum corrumpere et corrumpi. Adhuc melius
 is it called fashion to corrupt and to be corrupted. Still better
quidem eae civitates in quibus tantum virgines nubunt
 even are those states in which only maidens marry
et semel transigitur cum spe quæ voto uxoris. Sic
 and at once "it is ended" with the hope and prayer of the wife. Thus
accipiunt unum maritum quo modo unum corpus que
 they receive one husband just as they do one body and
unam vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne long-
 one life, lest there be other thought besides, lest there be fur-
for cupiditas, ne ament tamquam maritum sed
 ther desire, so that they may love not only the husband but
matrimonium tamquam. Finire numerum liberorum aut
 the married state all the more. To limit the number of children or
necare quemquam ex agnatis habetur flagitium, que
 to kill any of their offspring is considered a disgrace, and
boni mores ibi plus valent quam bonae leges alibi 20.
 good customs there are more powerful than good laws elsewhere.
In omni domo excrescunt nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in
 in every home they grow up naked and filthy with those limbs, in
haec corpora quae miramur. Sua mater alit quemque
 those bodies which we admire. Each mother nourishes every child
uberibus, nec delegantur ancillis aut nutricibus.
 from her breast, nor are they entrusted to servants or nurses. You
Dignoscas dominum ac servum nullis deliciis edis-
 can distinguish master and servant by no luxuries of
cationes; degunt inter eadem pecora, in
 wearing; they pass their time among the same flocks, lie on the
eadem humo, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus
 same ground, until age separates the freeborn: valor identi-

adgnoscat. Venus iuvenum sera que eo pa-
 fies them. Love of the youths is late and by that fact their
 bertas inexhausta. Nec virgines festinantur,
 vigor is unexhausted. Nor are the maidens hastened to marriage;
 eadem iuventa, similis proceritas; pares
 the same youthfulness, and like height are required; alike
 que validae miscentur, ac liberi referunt robora
 and vigorous, they are united, and the children reproduce the powers
 parentum. Idem honor filiis sororum apud avun-
 of the parents. The same esteem for the sons of sisters is held by an
 culum que apud patrem. Quidam-arbitrantur hunc
 uncle as by the father Some consider this con-
 nexum sanguinis sanctiorem que artiolem et in accipi-
 nection of blood more sacred and more binding and in receiv-
 endis obsidibus exigunt magis, tamquam teneant et
 ing hostages demand it more, thinking they may hold both
 animum firmitus et domum latius. Tamen liberi
 the affections stronger and the home more broadly. Yet the chil-
 culque sui heredes que successores, et nullum
 dren of each are his own heirs and successors, and there is no
 testamentum. Si sunt non liberi, proximus gradus in
 will If there are no children, the nearest degree in
 possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto
 succession is his brothers, paternal uncle, maternal uncle. The more
 plus propinquorum, quanto-maior numerus adfinium, tanto
 (of) relatives (he has), the greater the number of connections, the more
 gratiosior senectus; nec ulla pretia orbitatis.
 honored is his old age; there are not any advantages of childlessness.
 21. Est tam necesse suscipere inimicitias seu patris
 It is as necessary to adopt the enmities either of a father
 seu propinqui quam amicitias. Nec durant implaca-
 or of a relative as his friendships. Nor do they continue implaca-
 biles; enim etiam homicidium luitur certo numero ar-
 able; for even homicide is expiated by a fixed number of
 mentorum ac pecorum que universa domus recipit satis-
 cattle and of sheep and the entire household receives satis-
 factionem, utiliter in publicem, quia inimicitiae sunt per-
 faction, advantageous for the state, since enmities are more
 iculosiores iuxta libertatem. Non alia gens indulget
 dangerous among a free people. No other race indulges more
 effusus convictibus et hospitibus. Arcere quemcumque
 profusely in entertainments and hospitalities. To exclude any
 mortalium tecto habetur nefas; quisque pro
 (of) mortal(s) from your home is thought impious; each one according
 fortuna excipit apparatus epulis. Cum
 to his fortune receives with well-prepared table. When this
 defecere, qui modo fuerat hospes monstrator et
 fails, he, who just now was host becomes the guide and
 comes hospiti; adeunt non invitati proximam domum.
 companion of hospitality; they go uninvited to the nearest house.

Interest nec; accipiuntur pari humanitate. Nemo dis-
 It matters not; they are received with like cordiality. No one dis-
 cernit notum que ignotum quantum ad ius
 distinguishes a known and unknown man as far as pertains to the law of
 hospitibus. Moris concedere abeunti si quid po-
 hospitality. It is (of) a custom to grant to one departing whatever he de-
 poscerit; et eadem facilitas in vicem pos-
 mands; and there is the same willingness in turn of him
 cendi. Gaudent numeribus, sed imputant nec
 demanding. They rejoice in gifts, but they think they do not
 data nec obligantur acceptis. (Victus
 have to be given nor are they obligated by accepting them. (The bond
 inter hospites comis. 22. Statim e somno.
 between hosts is friendly. At once on waking from sleep,
 quem extrahunt plerumque in diem, lavantur, saepius
 which they prolong generally into the day, they bathe, oftener in
 calida, ut hiems occupat plurimum apud quos. Hav-
 warm water, as winter occupies the longest time with them. Hav-
 Lauti, capiunt cibum: singulis separatæ sedes,
 long bathed, they take their food, for individuals there are separate seats,
 cuique sua mensa. Tum procedunt armati ad
 for every family its own table. Then they proceed armed to
 negotia nec minus sæpe ad conviva. Probrum nulli con-
 business no less often to banquets. It is base for no one to
 tinuare . diem que noctem potando. Ut inter
 pass a day and night in drinking. As is true among the
 vinolentis crebrae rixae transiguntur raro conviciis
 intoxicated, their frequent brawls are settled rarely by abuses,
 sæpius vulneribus et caede. Sed et de reconciliandis
 oftener by wounds and by murder. Even anent reconciling
 in vicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis
 mutual enemies and marriage alliances and selecting
 principibus, denique de pace ac bello consultant plerum-
 chiefs, finally anent peace and war, they consult general-
 que in conviviis, tamquam nullo tempore animus pateat
 ly at banquets, as though at no time does the mind lie open
 magis aut ad simplices cogitationes aut incalescat ad
 more either for simple thoughts or is inspired for
 magnas. Gens, non astuta nec callida, aperit adhuc
 great (ones). The race, neither astute nor shrewd, discloses even
 secreta pectoris licentia loci. Ergo mens
 the secrets of the heart in the freedom of a joke. Thus the thought
 omnium detecta et nuda, postera die retractatur;
 of all open and frank, on the next day negotiation is renewed
 et ratio utriusque temporis est salva; deliberant dum
 and the reckoning of either time is sound; they deliberate while
 nescunt fingere, constituunt dum non possunt
 they know not how to deceive, resolve while they are not able
 errare. 23. Corruptus humor potui ex horden
 to err. A fermented liquid for drinking is made from barley

aut frumento in quandam similitudinem vini; proximi
or other grain into a certain likeness of wine; those nearest
ripae et mercantur vinum. Simples cibi, agres-
to our bank also buy wine. There are simple foods, wild
tia poma, recens fera aut concretum lac; expellunt famem
fruit, fresh game or curdled milk; they satisfy hunger
sine apparatu, sine blandimentis. Adversus sitim
without splendor, without delicacies. Against thirst there is
non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati
not the same temperance. If you indulge their ebriety
suggendo quantum concupiscunt, vincentur haud
by supplying as much as they desire, they are conquered much
minus facile vitis quam armis. 24. Genus spectaculorum
more easily by vices than by arms. The kind of shows
unum atque idem in omni coetu. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id est
one and the same in every assembly. Nude youths, to whom it is
ludicrum, iaciunt se saltu inter gladios atque
sport, hurl themselves with a spring among swords and
infestas frameas. Exercitatio paravit artem, ars decorem,
deadly spears. Practice produces skill, skill grace,
non in quaestum, tamen, aut mercedem, quamvis audacis
not for gain, however or for pay, however daring
lasciviae, pretium est voluptas spectantium. Quod
the sports, the reward is the pleasure of the spectators. What
mirere, sobrii exercent aleam inter
you would marvel at, though sober they practice dice throwing seri-
seria, tanta temeritate lucrandi ve perendi ut
ously, and with so great a risk of winning or losing that
cum omnia defecerunt, contendant extremo ac novissimo
when all other has failed, they contend on the last and final
lactu de libertate ac de corpore. Victus adit volun-
toss for the freedom of their person. The defeated one goes into vol-
tariam servitutem, quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior,
untary slavery, although younger, although stronger,
patitur se adligari ac venire. Ea est pervicacia in
he allows himself to be bound and be sold. Such is the obstinacy in
prava re; ipsi vocant fidem. Tradunt servos huius
bad affair; they call it honor. They pass along slaves of this
condicionis per commercia ut exsolvant se quo-
nature through commerce so that they absolve themselves too
que pudore victoriae. 25. Utuntur ceteris servis
from the shame of such a victory. They employ other slaves
non in nostrum morem, discriptis ministeriis per fami-
not after our custom, with assigned duties in the
iam: quisque regit suam sedem, suos penates. Dominus
home each one rules his own house, his own home. The master
inlungit modum frumenti aut pecoris aut vestis ut
imposes a quantity of grain or of cattle or of clothing as
colono, et servus paret hactenus, uxor
he would on a tenant, and the slave complies to this extent; the wife

ac liberi exsequuntur cetera officia domus. Rarum
 and children execute the other duties of the home. It is rare
 verberare servum ac coercere vinculis et opere;
 to strike a slave or to confine him with chains and labor;
 solent occidere non disciplina et severitate, sed
 they are wont to kill (slaves) not in disciplining and in severity, but
 impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod est
 on the impulse of rage, as they do an enemy, except that it is with
 impune. Liberti sunt non multum supra servos, raro ali-
 impunity. Freedmen are not much above slaves, rarely of
 quod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, ex-
 any weight in the family, never in the state, ex-
 ceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. Ibi
 cepting only those tribes which are ruled by kings. There
 enim et ascendunt super ingenuos et super nobiles; apud
 indeed they rise above freeborn and above nobles; among
 ceteros libertini impares sunt argumentum libertatis. 26.
 the rest freedman inequalities are proof of freedom.
 Agitare faenus et extendere in usuras ignotum;
 To lend money for interest and to extend it to usury is unknown;
 ideoque magis servatur quam si esset vetitum. Agri
 therefore one is more protected than if it were prohibited. Lands
 pro numero cultorum occupantur in vicem ab
 according to the number of cultivators are occupied mutually by
 universis, quos mox partiuntur inter se secundum
 all, which later they divide among themselves according to
 dignationem. Spatia camporum praestant facilitatem
 rank. Expenses of plains warrant facility
 partiendi. Mutant arva per annos et
 of division. They change fields yearly (till fresh land) and new
 ager superest. Enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli
 land still abounds. For with the fertility and extent of soil
 nec contendunt labore ut conserant pomeria, et
 they do not exert themselves laboriously to plant orchards, and
 separent prata, et rigent hortos; seges sola imperatur
 set off meadows and water gardens; corn alone is demanded
 terrae. Unde non digerent annum quoque
 of (to) the earth. Hence they do not divide the year even
 ipsum in totidem species; hiems et ver et aes-
 itself into as many seasons (as we); winter and spring and sum-
 tas habent intellectum ac vocabula, nomen ac bona
 mer have a meaning and names, the name and blessings
 autumn perinde ignorantur. 27. Nulla ambitio fu-
 of autumn equally are unknown. There is no pomp of fu-
 nerum, id solum observatur ut corpora clarorum vir-
 nerals; this alone is observed, that the bodies of famous
 orum cremantur certis lignis. Cumulant struem
 men are burned with certain woods. They augment the heap of a
 rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus; cuique sua
 funeral pile neither with garments nor with spices; each one's own

arma, quorundam et equus adicitur igni. Caespes
 arms, and sometimes even his horse are added to the fire. Turf.
 erigit sepulcrum; aspernantur arduum monumentorum et
 forms the tomb; they reject the height of monuments and
 operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis. Ponunt
 troublesome honor as oppressive to the dead. They lay aside
 lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde.
 weeping and tears quickly, grief and sorrow slowly.
 Est honestum feminis lugere, viris meminisse.
 It is praiseworthy for women to bewail, for men to remember the dead.
 Haec in commune accepimus de origine ac moribus
 Such, on the whole, I (we) have learned of the origin and customs
 omnium Germanorum; nunc expediam instituta
 of all the Germans; now I shall explain the institutions
 que ritus singularum gentium, quatenus differant, quae
 and rites of the individual tribes, how far they differ, what
 nationes commigraverint e Germania in Gallias. 28. Divus
 nations have migrated from Germany to Gaul. Diedied
 Iulius, sumus auctorum, tradit res Gallorum
 Julius, the highest of authorities, relates that the status of the Gauls
 fuisse olim validiores; eoque est cred-
 was formerly more powerful (than Germany), therefore it is cred-
 ibile etiam Gallos transgressos in Germaniam. Enim
 ibile also that the Gauls crossed over into Germany. For
 quantum amnis obstat, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, quo
 how little would a river be in the way, as each tribe developed to
 minus occuparet que permutaret sedes promiscuas adhuc
 prevent, it seizing and exchanging seats undivided as yet
 et divisas nulla potentia regnorum? Igitur Helvetii ten-
 and divided by no power of kings? Therefore the Helvetii oc-
 uere inter Hercyniam silvam que Rhenum et Moenum
 cupied land between Hercynian forest and the Rhine and Moenus
 amnes, Boii ulteriora, utraque Gallica gens. Nomen
 rivers, the Boii the lands beyond, either a Gallic tribe. The name
 Boiohaemi adhuc manet que significat veterem memoriam
 of Boiomum still remains and signifies the old tradition
 loci, quamvis cultoribus mutatis. Sed utrum Ara-
 of the place, although with inhabitants changed. Whether the Ara-
 visci commigraverint in Pannoniam ab Osis, natione
 visci migrated into Pannonia from the Osi, a nation
 Germanorum, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam,
 of the Germans, or the Osi from the Aravisci into Germany,
 cum utantur adhuc eadem sermone, institutis, moribus,
 since they use as yet the same language, institutions, customs,
 est incertum, quia olim inopia ac libertate
 is uncertain, because formerly their need and freedom being
 pari, erant eadem bona que mala utriusque ripae.
 equal, there were the same attractions and drawbacks of either bank.
 Treveri et Nervii sunt ultro ambitiosi circa adfecta-
 The Treveri and Nervii are moreover, eager about their

tionem Germanicae originis, tamquam separentur per
claim of German origin, considering that they are set apart by
hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gal-
this pride of blood from the likeness and inactivity of the
lorum. Vangiones, Triboci Nementes, haud dubie populi
Gauls. The Vangiones, Triboci, Nementes, no doubt tribes
Germanorum, colunt ipsam ripam Rheni. Ne quidem
of Germans, inhabit the very bank of the Rhine. Not even

Ubii, quamquam meruerint esse Romana colonia, ac
do the Ubii, although they deserved to be a Roman colony, and
vocentur libentius Agrippinenses, nomine sui con-
are called more freely the Agrippinenses from the name of their
ditoris, erubescunt origine, transgressi olim et
founder, blush at their origin, having crossed formerly and
experimento fidel collocati super ipsam ripam
by proof of their loyalty were located on the very bank of the

Rheni, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur. 29. Praecipui
Rhine, to guard it, not to be guarded. Foremost

virtuti omnium harum gentium Batavi colunt non multum
in valor of all these tribes, the Batavi inhabit not much

ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis, quondam populus
of the bank, but an island of the Rhine river, formerly a tribe

Chattorum, domestica seditione, transgressus in eas
of the Chatti, by internal dissension, crossed over into these

sedes in quibus fierent pars Romani imperii. Honos
places where they became part of the Roman empire. The honor

et insigne antiquae societatis manet; nam nec con-
and mark of an ancient alliance remain(s); for neither are they

temnuntur tributis nec publicanus atterit; ex-
insulted by tributes nor does the tax gatherer harm them; ex-

empti oneribus et collationibus et sepositi tantum in
empt from burdens and contributions and set apart only for

usum proellorum, velut tela atque arma reservantur
use in (of) wars, as if they were weapons and arms, they are reserved

bellis. Gens Mattiacorum est in eadem obsequio;
for wars. The tribe of the Mattiaci is in the same subjection;

enim magnitudo Romani populi protulit reverentiam
for the greatness of the Roman people has spread reverence

imperii ultra Rhenum que ultra veteres terminos.
of the empire beyond the Rhine and beyond the old boundaries.

Ita, sede que finibus in sua ripa,
Thus, with their seats and borders on their own side of the river, they

agunt mente que animo cum nobis, cetera similes Ba-
live in feeling and purpose with us, otherwise like the Ba-

tavi, nisi quod animantur adhuc acrius ipso
tavi, except that they are animated still more keenly by the very

solo et caelo suae terrae. Non numeraverim inter
soil and climate of their land. I should not number among

populos Germaniæ eos qui, fecumantes, exercent
 the people of Germany those who, subject to tithes, till the
 agros, quamquam consederint trans Rhenum que Dan-
 fields, although they have settled across the Rhine and Dan-
 uvium. Quisque levissimus Gallorum et audax inopia,
 ube. Each reckless one of the Gauls and emboldened by want,
 occupavere solum dubiæ possessionis; mox limite
 seized land of doubtful ownership; later our frontier
 acto que praesidiis promotis,
 being extended and our garrisons being pushed forward, they were
 habentur sinus imperii et pars provinciae. 80.
 are considered a corner of the empire and part of a province,
 Ultra hos Chatti incohant, initium sedes
 Beyond them the Chatti live, the beginning of whose settlement
 ab Hercynio saltu, locis non ita effusis ac palustribus
 is at the Hercynian forest, the lands not as level and swampy
 ut ceterae civitates in quas Germania patescit; siquidem
 as other states into which Germany stretches; wherever
 colles durant, rarescunt paulatim
 hills extend, (the Chatti dwell), and become fewer gradually with them,
 et Hercynius saltus prosequitur atque simul deponit
 and the Hercynian forest keeps close and at last takes leave
 suos Chattos. Duriora corpora, stricti artus, minax
 of its native Chatti. Hardy frames, close-knit limbs a fierce
 vultus et maior vigor animi genti. Ut
 face and greater vigor of spirit mark the race. Considering it is
 inter Germanos, multum rationis ac sollertiae;
 among Germans, there is much (of) intelligence and (of) sagacity.
 praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse or-
 they promote picked men, obey (them) promoted, know their
 dines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, dis-
 ranks, note opportunities, check their impulses, por-
 ponere diem, vallare noctem, numerare for-
 tion out the day, intrench themselves at night, number for-
 tunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa, que
 tune among doubtful, valor among fixed (things), and
 quod rarissimum nec nisi concessum Romanae disciplinae,
 what is very rare and only conceded to Roman discipline,
 reponere plus in duce quam in exercitu. Omne
 they rely more on a leader than on an army. All their
 robus in pedite, quem, super arms, onerant quoque
 strength is in infantry, which, besides its arms, they burden even
 ferramentis et copiis. Videas alios ire ad proelium,
 with iron tools and supplies. You may see others go to a battle,
 Chattos ad bellum. Excursus rari et fortuita
 the Chatti to a campaign. Raids are rare and likewise accidental
 pugna. Sane id proprium equestrium virum pa-
 battle. Indeed it is characteristic of cavalry forces to

rare victoriam cito, .cedere cito: velocitas est iuxta
 win victory quickly, to yield quickly. fleetness is next to
 formidinem, cunctatio proprior constantiae. §1. Et
 fear, deliberateness more like constancy Indeed
 submittere crinem que barbam ut primum adoleverint
 to wear long the hair and beard as soon as they reach manhood
 usurpatum raro aliis populis Germanorum et
 is practiced rarely among other people of the Germans even (as a
 privata audentia cuiusque, vertit in consensum
 mark of) private prowess of each man, is ascribed as a whole
 apud Chattos. nec nisi caeso hoste, exuere
 to the Chatti; not until they have(ing) slain a foe, do they lay aside
 habitum oris votivum que obligatum
 this garb of face which devotes and pledges them
 virtuti. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant
 to valor Over a bloody enemy and his spoils they lay bare
 frontem, tum que demum ferunt se rettulisse
 their face, then and not till then they say they have discharged
 pretia nascendi que dignos patria ac
 the obligations of their birth and that they are worthy of their country &
 parentibus. Squalor manet ignavis et imbel-
 parents. The unshorn beard remains on cowards and unwar-
 libus. Quisque fortissimus gestat insuper ferreum anulum
 like men. Each very brave man wears also an iron ring
 velut vinculum (id ignominiosum genti) donec
 as a tie (this is a mark of disgrace to the people) until
 absolvat se caede hostis. Hic habitus placet
 he absolves himself by the murder of a foe. This practice is pleasing
 plurimis Chattorum, que iam insignes canent
 to most of the Chatti, and now the distinguished are hoary-headed
 et monstrati simul hostibus que suis.
 and are conspicuous both to enemies and their own people.
 Initia omnium pugnarum penes hos; prima acies
 beginnings of all battles rest with them; the first line is
 semper haec, nova visu, nam ne quidem in pace
 always (of) such, novel in sight, for not even in peace
 mansuescunt mitiore cultu. Nulli domus,
 do they assume a more gentle aspect. To no one "is there" a home,
 aut ager aut aliqua cura, prout venere ad quem-
 or land or any care, accordingly as they visit anyone
 que aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemp-
 they are supported, lavish with another's things, regardless
 tores sui, donec exsanguis senectus faciat im-
 of their own, until lifeless old age renders them un-
 pares tam durae virtuti. §2. Usipi ac Tencteri, prox-
 equal to so stern a valor The Usipi and Tencteri, "next
 im) Chattis, colunt Rhenum iam certum alveo
 to the Chatti, inhabit the Rhine now safe by its deep channel

quique sufficiat esse terminus. Tencteri super solitum
 which suffices as (to be) a boundary. The Tencteri, besides the usual
 decus bellorum, praecellunt arte disciplinae equestris;
 glory of wars, excel in the skill of organizing cavalry;
 nec laus peditum apud Chattos maior quam
 nor is the praise of infantry among the Chatti greater than that
 equitum Tencteris. Sic maiores instituere; pos-
 of the cavalry of the Tencteri Thus their ancestors originated them; pos-
 teri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec aemu-
 terity imitates them. These are the sports of their children, this the rival-
 latio iuvenum; senes perseverant Equi tradun-
 alry of the youths; old men persevere in them Horses are handed
 tur inter familiam, et penates et iura successi-
 down along with slaves and homes and the rights of inheri-
 onum; filius, maximus natu, excipit, non ut
 tance; the son oldest in birth, receives them, not as it is

cetera sed prout ferox et melior bello.
 with other things, but accordingly as he is brave and courageous in war.

33. Olim Bructeri occurrebant iuxta Tencteros; nunc
 Formerly the Bructeri came next after the Tencteri: now

narratur Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse,
 it is said that the Chamavi and Angrivarii migrated (there), driv-
 pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis consensu vi-
 ing out the Bructeri or completely exterminating them with the aid of
 cinarum nationum, seu odio superbiae seu
 neighboring tribes, either from hatred of their tyranny or
 dulcedine praedae seu quodam favore deorum
 from the fondness of plunder or from some favor of the gods
 erga nos; nam ne quidem invidere spectaculo
 toward us; for it did not even grudge us a spectacle
 proelii. Super sexaginta milia ceciderunt, non Romanis
 of a battle. Beyond sixty thousand fell, not by Roman
 armis que telis, sed quod est magnificentius, oblecta-
 arms and weapons, but what is far grander, before our
 tioni que oculis. Maneat, quaeso que
 delight(ed) (and) eyes. May there remain, I pray, and

duret gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium
 last to the tribes, if not a love of us, at least a hatred for

sui, quando fatis imperii urgentibus,
 each other, for while the destinies of the empire are being hurried on,

fortuna potest praestare iam nihil maius quam dis-
 fortune is able to give now no greater (boon) than dis-

cordiam hostium. 34. Dulgubnii et Chasuarii que aliae
 cord of our enemies. The Dulgubrini and Chasuarii and other

gentes haud perinde memoratae cludunt Angrivarios et
 tribes not equally famous shut out the Angrivarii and

Chamavos a tergo, Frisii excipiunt a fronte.
 Chamavi on the rear, the Frisii exclude them on the front.

Est vocabulum maioribus que minoribus Frisiis ex
 There is a distinction made for the greater and lesser Frisii by
 modo virium. Utraque nationes usque ad Ocea-
 the extent of their forces. Both tribes as far as the Ocean
 num prætèxuntur Rheno, que ambiunt insuper in-
 are bordered by the Rhine, and they embrace, moreover, im-
 mensos lacus navigatos et Romanis classibus. Quin etiam
 mense lakes navigated also by Roman fleets. Nay even
 temptavimus Oceanum ipsum illa et fama vulgavit
 we have dared the Ocean itself there and rumor commonly says that
 columnas Herculis adhuc superesse, sive Hercules ad-
 pillars of Hercules still survive, either Hercules visited
 lit, seu ubique quidquid magnificum est, consen-
 there, or wherever anything grand exists, we have
 sumus referre in eius claritatem. Nec audentia
 agreed to ascribe it to his renown. Nor was boldness
 defuit Druso Germanico, sed Oceanus obstitit in-
 lacking to Drusus Germanicus, but the Ocean refuses to be in-
 quiri, simul in se atque in Herculem. Mox nemo
 vestigated, both as to itself and as to Hercules. Later no one
 temptavit, que visum sanctius ac reverentius
 has dared it, and it is considered more pious and reverential
 credere de actis deorum quam scire. 35. Hac-
 to believe in the actions of the gods than to inquire Thus
 tenus novimus Germaniam in occidentem; redit in
 far we have noted Germany on the west; it trends toward
 septentrionem ingenti flexu. Ac primo statim gens
 the north by a great bend At first is the tribe
 Chaucorum, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac occupet
 of the Chauci, although it starts from the Frisii and occupies
 partem litoris, obtenditur lateribus omnium gentium
 a part of the coast, is enveloped by the frontiers of all the tribes
 quas exposui, donec sumetur usque in
 which I have enumerated, until it extends in a curve as far as the
 Chattos. Chauci non tantum tenent tam immensum
 the Chatti The Chauci not only possess so vast
 spatium terrarum sed implent et nobilissimus populus
 a space of lands but they people it also, the noblest people
 inter Germanos, quique malit suam magnitudinem
 among the Germans who prefers that its greatness be
 tueri iustitia. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia,
 maintained by just dealing Without avarice, without violence,
 quieti que secreti, provocant nulla bella, populantur
 quiet and secluded, they provoke no wars, they are devastated
 nullis raptibus aut latrociniis. Id est præcipuum argu-
 by no rapine or robberies This is an especial proof
 mentum virtutis ac virium quod, ut agant superiores,
 of their valor and powers that, since they live superior,

adsequuntur per non iniurias. Tamen arma prompti;
they continue it by no injuries. Yet arms are ready

omnibus ac si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum vir-
for all and if occasion demands, an army, a multitude of

orum que equorum; et quiescentibus eadem fama.
men and horses; even while at peace there is the same report.

36. In latere Chaucorum que Chatterum Cherusci
On the side of the Chauci and Chatti the Cherusci,

inaccessiti nutrierunt diu nimiam ac marcentem pacem.
unassailed, cherished long an excessive and enfeebling peace.

Que id fuit iucundius quam tutius, quia quiescas
And this was more pleasing than safe, because you would find

falso inter impotentes et validos; ubi
a delusive peace among lawless and powerful (people); where it

agitur manu, modestia ac probitas sunt nomina
is decided by power, moderation and justice are names for the

superioris. Ita qui olim boni que aequi Cherusci,
more powerful So who once were the good and just Cherusci,

nunc vocantur inertes et stulti; victoribus Chatti
now are called cowards and fools; with the victorious Chatti

fortuna cessit in sapientiam. Fosi tracti ruina
= success goes with wisdom. The Fosi fell with the ruin

Cheruscorum et, contermina gens; sunt ex aequo socii
of the Cherusci also, a neighboring tribe, they were equal sharers

adversarum rerum, cum fuissent minores in secun-
of adverse fortunes, though they had been inferior in proper-

dis 37. Proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent eundem
ous (ones) Near the Ocean the Cimbri possess the same

sinum Germaniae, nunc parva civitas, sed ingens
mote corner of Germany, now a small state, but great in

gloria. Lata vestigia que manent veteris famae,
glory Wide-spread traces yet remain of their old glory,

utraque ripa spatia ac castra, ambitu quorum
on either bank are spacious encampments, by the circuit of which

nunc quoque metiaris molem que manus gentis
now even you may measure the size and powers of the tribe

et fidem tam magni exitus. Nostra urbs agebat;
still an evidence of so mighty an emigration. Rome was in

sescentiesimum et quadragesimum annum cum primum
her six hundred and fortieth year when first the

arma Cimbrorum sunt audita, Caecilio Metello et Papirio
arms of the Cimbri were heard of, Caecilius Metellus and Papirius

Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si computemus ad alter-
Carbo being consuls. From which, if we compute to the 2nd

um consulatum imperatoris Traiani, ferme ducenti et decem
consulship of Emperor Trajan, about 100 and 10

anni colliguntur; tam diu Germania vincitur.
years are reckoned; so long it required for Germany to be conquered.

Medio spatio tam longi aevi multa damna in vicem.
In the space of so long a time many losses on both sides (re-

Non Samnis non Poeni non Hispaniae ve
sulted). Neither the Samnites nor Carthaginians nor Spain nor
Galliae, ne quidem Parthi admonuere saepius; quippe

Gaul, not even Parthians have warned us oftener; for the
libertas Germanorum est acrior regno Arsacis.
independence of the Germans is fiercer than the rule of an Arsaces.

Enim quid aliud Oriens, delectus infra Ventidium,
For what else can the East, crushed under a Ventidius,

obiecerit nobis quam caedem Crassi et ipse amisso
throw in our face than the murder of Crassus and itself losing

Pacoro? At Germani, fusis vel captis Carbone
Pacorus? But the Germans, by routing or capturing Carbon

et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione que Gnaeo
and Cassius and Scaurus Aurelius and Servilius Caepio and Marcus

Mallio, abstulerunt Romano populo simul quinque con-
Manlius, took from the Roman people at once five con-

sulares exercitus, que etiam Caesari Varum cum
sular armies and even from a Caesar Varus and with

eo tris legiones; nec impune C. Marius in
him three legions; not with impunity to us did C. Marius in

Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germani-
Italy, deified Julius in Gaul, Drusus and Nero and Germani-

cus perculerunt eos in suis sedibus. Mox ingentes
cus crush them on their own grounds. Later the mighty

minae Gai Caesaris versae in ludibrium. Inde
threats of Caius Caesar were turned to a joke. Then came

otium, donec occasione nostrae discordiae et civilium
a lull, until on the occasion of our discord and of civil

armorum, expugnatis hibernis legionum
wars, having stormed the winter-quarters of our legions they

adfectavere etiam Gallias; ac rursus inde puls, prox-
strove to obtain even Gaul; and again then routed, in re-

imis temporibus triumphati sunt magis quam vic-
cent times triumphs are more common than con-

ti. 38. Nunc est dicendum de Suebis,
quests. Now it "must be spoken" I must speak of the Suevi,

gens quorum non una ut Chattorum ve Tencterorum;
the tribe of whom is not one as of the Chatti or of the Tencteri;

enim obtinent maiorem partem Germaniae, adhuc dis-
for they occupy the greater part of Germany, hitherto dis-

creti propriis nationibus que nominibus, quamquam
tinguished by their own tribes and names, although

in commune vocentur Suebi. Insigne gentis ob-
in common are called Suevi. It is a trait of the race to

liquare crinem que substringere nodo; sic Suebi
twist back the hair and to fasten it in a knot; thus the Suevi

separantur a ceteris Germanis, sic ingenui Sue-
are separate from the other Germans, thus the free-born of the
borum a servis. In aliis gentibus, seu aliqua cog-
Suevi from their slaves. In other tribes, either from some re-
natione Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione,
lation of Suevi or, as often happens, from imitation,

spatium rarum et intra iuventae; apud Suebos us-
the practice is rare and among the youth; among the Suevi up
que canitiem horrentem capillum sequuntur retro
to (the time of) a hoary shaggy head they draw it back
ac saepe religant in ipso vertice; principes
and often they fasten it on the very top (of the head); the chiefs
habent et ornatiorem. Ea cura formae sed
have even a more decorative style. Such is the care of appearance, but

innocia enim neque ut ament ve amentur,
in innocence, for it is neither that they may love or be loved,

adituri bella, compti in quandam altitud-
they, going to war, wear their hair brushed to a certain height
inem et terrorem, ut ornantur oculis hostium.
and terrifying look, to be adorned for the eyes of the enemy

39. Semnones memorant vetustissimos que nobilissimos
The Semnones claim to be the oldest and most renowned
Sueborum; fides antiquitatis firmatur religione.
of the Suevi; proof of their antiquity is strengthened by their religion.

Stato tempore omnes populi eiusdem sanguinis coeunt
At a stated time all the people of the same blood assemble
legationibus in silvam sacram auguriis patrum et
by representatives to a grove consecrated by auguries of their fathers and

prisca formidine que caeso publice homine, cel-
by an early kind of fear and slaying publicly a man, they
ebrant horrenda primordia barbari ritus. Est alla
celebrate the horrible origins of a barbarous rite. There is other

reverentia et luco: nemo ingreditur nisi ligatus
reverence too for the grove; no one enters it unless bound by a

vinculo, ut minor ferens prae se potestatem numi-
chain, as an inferior placing before himself the power of the di-

nis. Si forte prolapsus, haud licitum attol-
vinity If by chance he falls, it is not allowed that he be raised

li et insurgere; evolvuntur per humum. Eo-
or to get up; they roll themselves over the ground. From

que omnis superstitio respicit tamquam inde ini-
this the entire superstition implies that from here is the or-

tia gentis, ibi deus regnator omnium, cetera
igin of the race, there dwells the god, ruler of all, to whom all else

subiecta atque parentia. Fortuna Semnonum adicit
is subject and obedient. The success of the Semnones strengthens

auctoritatem; centum pagi habentur iis, que magno
the belief: 100 cantons are held by them, and by their law.

corpore efficitur ut credant se caput Sue-
body it is worked out that they think themselves the head of the
borum. 40. Contra, paucitas nobilitat Langobar-
Suevic race. On the contrary, fewness of number distinguishes the Lan-
dos: cincti plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus, sunt
gobardi: surrounded by many and powerful tribes they are
tuti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando.
safe, not through obedience, but by wars and by hazarding.

Deinde Reudigni, et Aviones et Varini et Eudoses et Su-
Next are the Reudigni, and Aviones and Varini and Endoses and Su-
ardones et Nuitones muniuntur fluminibus aut silvis. Nec
ardones and Nuitones protected by rivers or forests. Nor
quicquam notabile in singulis nisi quod colunt
anything is noteworthy in each of the tribes except that they worship
Nerthum in commune, id est matrem Terram, que arbi-
Ertha in common, that is mother earth, and think

trantur eam intervenire rebus hominum, inveni popu-
that she intervenes in affairs of men, and visits the na-
lis. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, que in
tions. There is on an island of the Ocean a sacred grove, and in

eo dicatum vehiculum contextum veste; at-
this there is said to be a chariot covered with a garment; to

tingere concessum sacerdoti uni. Is intellegit
touch it is permitted to a priest alone. He perceives that the

deam adesse penetrati que cum multa veneratione pro-
goddess is present in the recess and with much reverence accom-

sequitur vectam feminis bubus. Tunc
panies her drawn along by "female cattle" (heifers). Then is the

dies laeti, loca festa, quaecumque dignatur
day of joy, the places are festal ones, whatever place is worthy

adventu que hospitio. Bella ineunt non, non sumunt
her coming and reception. Wars continue not, they do not wear

arma; omne ferrum clausum; pax et quies tunc tan-
arms; every weapon is locked up; peace and quiet then only

tum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos
are known, then only welcomed, until the same priest

reddat deam, satiatam conversatione mortalium,
conducts the goddess, satiated with the intercourse of mortals, to her

templo. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si velis credere,
temple. Later the chariot and garment and, if you wish to believe

numen ipsum abluitur secreto lacu. Servi
it, the divinity itself are purified in a secret lake. Slaves per-

ministrant, quos idem lacus haurit statim.
form the right, whom the same lake swallows up immediately.

Hinc arcanus terror que sancta ignorantia quid
Hence a mysterious terror and pious ignorance arise about what

illud sit quod tantum perituri vident. 41. Et qui-
this is which only men about to die And in-

dem haec pars Sueborum porrigitur in secretiora Ger-
 deed this part of the Suevi is spread out into the remoter parts of
 maniae. Proprior, ut quo modo paulo ante
 Germany. Nearer us, us only a little before I followed
 Rhenum, sic nunc sequar Danuvium, civitas Her-
 the Rhine, so now I shall follow the Danube, is the state of the Her-
 mundurorum, fida Romanis; eoque solis German-
 munduri, loyal to Romans; therefore to them alone of the Ger-
 orum commercium non in ripa sed
 mans is the right to trade not only on the bank of the river but
 penitus atque in splendidissima colonia provinciae
 far inland and in the most flourishing colony of the province
 Raetiae. Transeunt passim sine custode; et cum
 of Raetia. They pass everywhere without a guard; and while
 ceteris gentibus ostendamus modo nostra arma que castra,
 to other tribes we display only our arms and camp,
 patefecimus domos que villas his non
 we have thrown open our homes and villas to them, who do not
 concupiscentibus. Albis oritur in Hermunduris, olim
 covet them. The Elbe rises among the Hermunduri, once
 inclutum et notum; nunc tantum auditur. 42. Iuxta Her-
 famous and known; now only heard of. Next to the Her-
 munduros agunt Naristi, ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi.
 munduri live the Narisci, and then the Marcomani and Quadi.
 Vires que gloria Marcomanorum praecipua, atque
 The strength and glory of the Marcomni are marked, and
 etiam sedes ipsa, olim Bolis pulsas,
 even the territory itself, whence formerly the Boii were routed,
 parta virtute. Nec Naristi ve Quadi degenerant.
 was won by valor. Neither the Narisci nor Quadi are inferior to them.
 Que ea est frons velut Germaniae, quantenus per-
 And this is the frontier as it were of Germany, as far as it is
 agitur Danuvio. Reges ex ipsorum gente man-
 completed by the Danube. Kings of their own people have
 serunt Marcomanis que Quadis usque ad nostram mem-
 lasted with the Marcomani and Quadi up to our mem-
 oriam, nobile genus Marobodu et Tudri; iam patiuntur
 ory, the noble stock of Marobodus and Tudrus; now they allow
 externos et, sed vis et potentia regibus ex
 foreigners, too, but strength and power for the kings come from
 Romana auctoritate. Iuvantur raro nostris armis, sae-
 Roman authority. They are aided rarely by our arms, of-
 pius pecunia, valent nec minus. 43. Retro,
 tender by our money they are powerful none the less. To the rear,
 Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri claudunt terga Marcomanorum
 the Marsigni, Gotini, Osi, Buri close in the rear of the Marcomani
 que Quadorum. E quibus Marsigni et Buri referunt Sue-
 and Quadi. Of these the Marsigni and Buri resemble the Su-

dos sermone que cultu: Pannonica lingua coarguit
evi in language and appearance: the Pannonian tongue proves

Osos, Gallica Cotinos, esse non Germanos, et
 that the Osi, the Gallic the Gotini, are not Germans, and the fact
quo patiuntur tributa. Sarmatae imponunt partem trib-
 that they endure tributes. The Sarmatae impose part of the
utorum ut alienigenis, Quadi partem. Cotini, quo
 tributes on them as liens, the Quadi part. The Gotini, what
magis pudeat, et effodiunt ferrum. Que omnes
 is more shameful, even work iron mires. And all

hi populi insederunt pauca campestrium, ceterum sal-
 these people inhabit little of the plains, but the for-
tus et vertices montium que iugum. Enim continuum
 ests and summits of mountains and hills. For a continuous
iugum montium, ultra quod agunt plurimae gentes,
 range of mountains, beyond which live many tribes,
dirimit que scindit Suebiam, ex quibus nomen
 divides and separates Suevia, and among these tribes the name
Lugiorum, diffusum in plures civitates patet latissime.
 of the Ligii, spread among many states, extends very far.

Sufficiet nominasse valentissimas, Har-
 It will suffice to have named the most powerful tribes, the Harii,
ios, Helvecones, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. **Apud**
 Helvecones, Manimi, Helisii, Nahanarvali. Among
Nahanarvalos lucus antiquae religionis ostenditur. Sac-
 the Nahanarvali a grove of ancient sanctity is shown. A

erdos muliebri ornatu praesidet, sed memorant deos
 priest in female attire presides, but they call the gods
Castorem que Pollucem, Romana interpretatione. **Ea**
 Castor and Pollux, in the Roman interpretation. Such is

vis numini, nomen Alcis. **Nulla** simu-
 the power to the divinity, the name is Alcis. There are no images
lacræ, nullum vestigium peregrinae superstitionis; tamen
 no vestige of foreign superstition; but

venerantur ut fratres, ut iuvenes. Ceterum Harii
 they are worshiped as brothers, as youths. However, the Harii,
super vires, antecedunt quibus enumeratos paulo
 besides their power, surpass those people (I) enumerated a little
ante populos, truces lenocinantur insitae
 before as tribes, and savage as they are, add to their natural
feritati arte ac tempore. **Scuta** nigra,
 ferocity by help of art and opportunity. Their shields are black, their
corpora tincta; legunt atras noctes ad proelia que
 bodies dyed; they choose dark nights for battles and by the

ipsa formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus inferunt
 very dread and shadow of their deadly army they strike
terrorem, **nullo** hostium sustinente novum
 terror into the enemy, no one of the enemy confronting the new and

velut infernum adspectum; nam in omnibus proeliis
 as it were infernal appearance; for in all battles
 oculi vincuntur primi. Trans Lugios Gotones
 the eyes are vanquished first. Beyond the Ligii are the Gotones,
 regnantur paulo adductius iam quam ceterae gentes
 ruled by kings a little more strictly indeed than the other tribes
 Germanorum, tamen nondum supra libertatem. Deinde
 of the Germans, but not yet beyond freedom. Next and
 protinus ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; que insig-
 farther on from the Ocean are the Rugii and Lemovii; and the stand-
 ne omnium harum gentium rotunda scuta, breves
 ard of all these tribes is a round shield, short
 gladii et obsequium erga reges. 44. Hinc civitates Sui-
 swords and submission to kings. Hence are the states of the
 onum, in Oceano ipso, praeter viros que arma
 Suiones, on the Ocean itself, who besides men and arms, are
 valent classibus. Forma navium differt ea, quod
 strong in ships. The form of their ships differs thus, that
 prora utrimque agit frontem semper paratam adpulsul.
 a prow at either end makes a forepart always ready for landing.
 Nec ministrant velis nec adiungunt remos in
 Neither do they govern them by sails nor do they join oars in
 ordinem lateribus; remigium solutum, ut in quib-
 a row to the sides; the rowing apparatus is free, as on some
 usdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel
 (of) rivers, and changeable, as occasion demands, here or
 illinc. Est apud illos et honos opibus, eoque unus
 there. There is among them also honor for wealth, therefore one
 imperitat iam nullis exceptionibus, non precario more
 holds sway indeed with no limitations, with no uncertain claim
 parendi. Arma nec, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in
 to obedience. Arms are not, as with the other Germans, in ev-
 promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et qui-
 every man's hands, but locked up in charge of a keeper, and in-
 dem servo, quia Aceanus prohibet subitas incursus
 deed a slave, for the Ocean forbids sudden inroads
 hostium, porro otiosae manus armatorum facile las-
 of enemies, moreover idle bands of armed men easily be-
 ciunt. Enim vero est regio utilitas praeponere
 come wanton. For indeed it is a regal policy to place over
 armis neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne
 armed men neither a nobleman nor a freeborn man, and not
 quidem libertinum. 45. Trans Suionas aliud mare,
 even a freedman. Beyond the Suiones is another sea,
 pigrum ac prope inmotum, quo fides orbem ter-
 sluggish and almost motionless, by which you may believe the world
 rarum cingi que cludi hinc quod extremus fulgor
 is girded and shut in from the fact that the last ray

iam cadentis solis edurat in ortum adeo clarus ut
indeed of the setting sun lingers till sunrise so clear that
hebetet sidera; persuasio adicit insuper sonum
it dims the stars; the conviction adds moreover that the sound of
emergentis audiri que formas equorum et radios of
him rising is heard and the forms of his horses and the rays of
capitis adspici. Tantum usque illuc, et fama vera,
his head are seen. Only thus far, and the rumor seems true

natura. Ergo iam gentes Aestiorum
here, does the world extend. Then indeed tribes of the Astii

adluuntur dextro litore Suebici maris,
are washed by the right shore of the Suevic sea,

quibus ritus que habitus Sueborum,
whose rites and dress are of Suevic origin, their

lingua propior Britannicae. Venerantur Matrem
language nearer the Briton. They worship the mother of

deum. Gestant insigne superstitionis formas
the gods. They wear as a symbol of their religion the forms

aprorum: id praestat pro armis que omni tutela
of wild boars: this serves as armor and entire defence, mak-

securum cultorem deae etiam inter hostis. Usus
ing safe the votary of the goddess even among enemies. The use

fustium, frequens, ferri rarus. Laborant patientius
of clubs is common, of iron rare. They cultivate more patiently

frumenta que ceteros fructus quam pro solita
grains and other produce than is consistent with the usual

inertia Germanorum. Sed scrutantur mare et, ac soli
indolence of the Germans. But they search the sea, too, and alone

omnium legunt sucinum, quod ipsi vocant glaesum,
of all people gather amber, which they call glesum,

inter vada atque in litore ipso. Ut barbaris,
in the shallows and on the shore itself. As they are barbarians, it is

nec quaesitum ve compertum quae natura ve quae
not sought out or discovered what natural cause or what

ratio gignat; quin etiam iacebat diu inter cetera
process produces it; nay even it lay a long time among the other

electamenta maris donec nostra luxuria dedit nomen.
refuse of the sea until our luxury gave it a name.

Ipsis in nullo usu. legitur rude, per-
With them it is (for) no use: it is gathered in a raw state, borne

fertur informe, mirantes, que pretium accipiunt.
to us shapeless, they wondering even at the price they receive.

Tamen intellegas esse sucum arborum, quia quaedam ter-
Yet you can see it is the sap of trees, since certain rep-

rena atque etiam vulvoria animalia plerumque interlucent,
tiles and even winged insects generally shine through it,

quae implicata humore, cluduntur mox ma-
which, tangled in the fluid, are enclosed gradually in the sub-

teria ^{gurescente.} Igitur crediderim ^{alcit}
 stance as it hardens. Therefore I should think that just as
 secretis Orientis ubi tura que balsama sudantur,
 in the recesses of the East where incense(s) and balsam exude,
 ita inesse fecundiora nemora que lucos insulis que
 so there are more fruitful woods and groves in the islands and
 terris Occidentis, atque quae, expressa radiis vi-
 cini solis, labuntur liquentia in proximum mare
 nearby sun, glide in liquid form into the adjacent sea
 ac exundant vi tempestatum in adversa litora.
 and are washed up by the force of storms on the opposite shores.
 Si temptes naturam sucini admoto igni, accenditum
 If you test the nature of amber by applying fire, it blazes
 in modum taedae quae alit pinguem et olentem flammam;
 like pinewood and emits a rich and fragrant flame;
 mox ut lentescit in picem ve resinam. Gentes
 soon, however, it softens in a sort of pitch or resin. The tribes
 Sitionum continuantur Suionibus. Cetera similes,
 of the Sitones border upon the Suiones. Otherwise like them,
 differunt uno, quod, femina dominatur; in tan-
 they differ in one way, namely, a woman rules; So much
 tum degenerant non modo a libertate sed etiam a
 have they declined not only from freedom but even from
 servitute. 46. Hic finis Suebiae. Dubito
 slavery. This is the end of Suevia. I am in doubt whether I
 adscribam nationes Peucinatorum que Venedorum et Fen-
 should enrol the tribes of the Peucini and Veneti and Fen-
 norum Germanis an Sarmatis, quamquam Peucini,
 ni with the Germans or Sarmatae, although the Peucini,
 quos quidam vocant Bastarnas, sermone, cultu,
 whom some call Bastarnae, in language, in way of life, in
 sede ac domiciliis, agunt ut Germani. Sordes
 abode and home-life, live as the Germans (do). The filth
 ac torpor omnium procerum; mixtis conubis foe-
 and sloth of all are great; by inter-marriages they are being
 dantur nonnihil in habitum Sarmatarum. Venedi
 debased somewhat into the appearance of the Sarmatae. The Veneti
 traxerunt multum ex moribus; nam latrocinis
 have borrowed much from their customs; for in plundering expedi-
 pererrant quidquid silvarum ac montium erig-
 tions they roam over every bit of the forests and mountains that ex-
 itur inter Pencinos que Fennos. Hi, tamen, potius
 lists between the Peucini and Fenni. They, however, are rather
 referentur inter Germanos, quia figunt et domos
 to be classified among Germans, since they fix both their homes
 et gestant scuta et gaudent usu ac pernicitate pedum;
 and wear shields and delight in the skill and fleetness of feet;

quae sunt omnia diversa Sarmatis viventibus in
 these things are all different from the Sarmatae who live in
 plastro que equo. Fennis mira feritas,
 a wagon and on horseback. (To) the Fenni are (a) strangely beastlike,
 foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui
 squalidly poor: no arms no horses, no homes; their food
 herba, vestitui pelles cubile humus; sola
 is herba, their garments are skins, their bed the earth; their only
 spes in sagittis, quas asperant ossibus inopia
 hope is in arrows, which they point with bones, from lack
 ferri. Que idem venatus alit viros ac feminas pari-
 of iron. And the same hunting supports men and women alike:
 ter: enim comitantur passim que petunt partem
 for women follow everywhere and demand part of the
 praedae. Nec aliud suffugium infantibus ferarum
 prey. There is no other refuge for the children from wild
 que imbrium quam ut contegantur in ali-
 beasts and storms than the fact that they are covered in a sort
 quo nexu ramorum. huc iuvenes redeunt, hoc
 of interlacing of boughs. hither the youths return, this
 receptaculum senum. Sed arbitrantur beatius quam
 a resting place of old men. But they consider this happier than
 ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, versare
 to groan over field labor, to toil on dwellings, to poise
 suas que alienas fortunas spe que metu. Securi
 their own and others' fortunes between hope and fear Secure
 adversus homines, securi adversus deos, adsecuti sunt
 against men, secure against gods, they have attained
 difficillimam rem, ut, esset ne quidem opus voto
 the hardest condition, namely, there is not even need of a wish
 illis. Iam cetera fabulosa, ora que voltus ho-
 "to them." Indeed all else is fabulous, the faces and expressions
 minum, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere Hellu-
 of men, the bodies and limbs of wild animals bedeck the Hel-
 sios et Oxionas; ut quod incompertum, ego relinquam
 lusi et Oxiones; as this is unauthenticated, I shall leave it
 in medio.
 open.

FINIS.

HANDY LITERAL TRANSLATIONS

(75 cents each)

"To one who is reading the Classics, a literal translation is a convenient and legitimate help; ...and every well-informed person will read the Classics either in the original or in a translation."

Latin		Demosthenes' Olynthiacs, Philip- pica	
Cesar's Gallic War. <i>The 7 Books</i>		Euripides' Alcestis, and Electra	
Cesar's Civil War		Juripides' Bacchantes, Herc.	
Catullus		Eurens'	
Cicero's Brutus		Euripides' Hecuba, and Andro- mache	
Cicero's Defense of Roscius		Euripides' Iphig. In Aulis, In Tauris	
Cicero De Officiis		Euripides' Medea	
Cicero On Old Age and Friendship		Herodotus, Books VI and VII	
Cicero On Oratory		Herodotus, Book VIII	
Cicero On the Nature of the Gods		Homer's Iliad, <i>the 1st Six Books</i>	
Cicero's Select Orations		Homer's Odyssey, <i>1st 12 Books</i>	
Cicero's Select Letters, <i>2 vols.</i>		Lucian's Select Dialogues, <i>2 vols.</i>	
Cicero's Tusculan Disputations		Lysias' Orations	
Cornelius Nepos, <i>complete</i>		Plato's Apology, Crito, and Phaedo	
Eutropius		Plato's Gorgias	
Horace, <i>complete</i>		Plato's Laches (<i>paper</i>)	
Juvenal's Satires, <i>complete</i>		Plato's Protagoras, Euthyphron	
Livy, Books I and II		Plato's Republic	
Livy, Books XXI and XXII		Sophocles' Oed. Tyr. Elec., Antig.	
Ovid's Metamorphoses, <i>2 vols.</i>		Thucydides, Books I-IV	
Phædrus' Fables		Thucydides, Books V-VIII	
Plautus' Captivi, and Mostelaria		Xenophon's Anabasis, <i>1st 4 Books</i>	
Plautus' Pseudolus; Miles Glor- iosus		Xenophon's Cyropædia, <i>2 vols.</i>	
Plautus' Trinummus, and Men- æchmi		Xenophon's Hellenica, Symposium	
Pliny's Select Letters, <i>2 vols.</i>		Xenophon's Memorabilia, <i>complete</i>	
Quintilian, Books X and XII		German	
Roman Life in Lat. Prose and Verse		Cornelle's Le Cid	
Sallust: Catiline, and Jugurth. War		Freytag's Die Journalisten	
Seneca On Benefits		Goethe's Egmont	
Tacitus' Annals, <i>1st Six Books</i>		Goethe's Faust	
Tacitus' Germany and Agricola		Goethe's Iphigenia in Tauris	
Tacitus On Oratory		Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea	
Terence: Andria, Adelphi, Phor- mio		Hillern's Higher Than The Church	
Terence: Heautontimorumenos		Lessing's Emilia Galotti	
Virgil's Æneid, <i>the 1st Six Books</i>		Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm	
Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics		Lessing's Nathan the Wise	
Viri Romæ		Schiller's Ballads	
Greek		Schiller's Maid of Orleans	
Æschines Against Ctesiphon		Schiller's Maria Stuart	
Æschylus' Prometheus Bound, and Seven Against Thebes		Schiller's The Nephew as Uncle	
Æschylus' Agamemnon		Schiller's Wallenstein's Death	
Aristophanes' Birds, and Frogs		Schiller's William Tell	
Aristophanes' Clouds		Storm's Immensee	
Demosthenes On the Crown		French	
		Racine's Athalie	

FOR INTERLINEARS, AND "COMPLETELY PARSED," SEE OTHER PAGES

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, Philadelphia